

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW,

VOLUME CVI.

January 1898.

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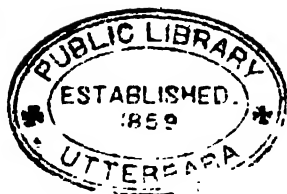
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. 211.—JANUARY 1898.

ART. I.—1837 & 1897 : TWO YEARS OF CALAMITIES. A HISTORICAL PARALLEL.

THE two years 1837 and 1897 have been placed in juxtaposition very frequently of late in connexion with the Diamond Jubilee celebrations and commemorations throughout the British Empire ; but few persons are aware of the existence of another reason, in the shape of a remarkable parallelism, for placing them together. I refer to the common calamities, equally dire and crushing, by which both these years were marked. The Diamond Jubilee year of 1897 has been to India a year of woes unnumbered. Plague, famine, fire, earthquake, cholera, political disturbances on the frontier and discontent among large classes, secret plots and open riots, these form the budget of India's calamities during the present year.

Many people say that this is unprecedented, and that the oldest man alive has not seen the like of such a year. But there lives in the memory of a few very old men another year in the past history of the country which was fraught with not only as many, but almost the same, calamities as the past year. And that year, strange to say, was the very year of the commencement of the glorious reign the great and unique length of which we have lately commemorated so heartily. The year 1837, from which the epoch of Victoria dates, was just as much an *annus mirabilis* in India as 1897. Nearly every calamity under which the country is groaning at present, or has been lately groaning, may be paralleled from the records of that year. In fact, with the single exception of the terrible earthquake and the doubtful exception of widespread discontent and disaffection, all the other calamities are identical in the two years. There was, to begin with, the plague, which, if not as widespread, was even more disastrous in point of mortality. And the plague was not the only disease which then afflicted the country. Cholera in its worst form broke out in Calcutta and Bombay, carrying off hundreds every week ; and in a slightly less virulent form at Lucknow and in

Madras. There was yellow fever, too, which raged at Moradabad and destroyed 1,800 people in three months in that small city ; while remittent fever prevailed in several districts of the North-Western Provinces. Then there was drought and famine throughout Hindustan, in Bengal, in Orissa, in the North-West, in Oude, in Baluchistan ; nor did the South entirely escape. The suffering owing to famine in the north was appalling. At Agra, it is noted by a contemporary writer, the magistrates employed sixty thousand of the poor, and the poor-house fed four thousand daily, and yet "the people died like very dogs." "I traversed the banks of the river," says another writer, "and heard that mothers watch an opportunity at night to throw their children alive into the Jumna. A person coming up the river assured us that he saw dogs and jackals actually devouring bodies in which life was not extinct."

The very elements seemed then to be at war with man. Fire, air and water all revolted against their laws and tried to overwhelm their devoted victims. Calcutta suffered severely from a series of disastrous fires. An idea of their frequency and extent will be obtained from the fact that in the first four months of the year they numbered 55, and the houses burnt 8030 ! nor was Calcutta the only sufferer from fire. The prosperous city of Surat was almost entirely burnt down by what is allowed to have been the most terrific conflagration of the century in India. That great city has never since recovered from the blow inflicted on it by the great fire of 1837. The starting of relief subscriptions was thought necessary in England and the people there sent a large sum. After the fire came heavy floods in Surat and destroyed what had been spared. Khandeish, too, suffered from the floods. There was a terrific hailstorm at Secunderabad. Bombay was visited by one of the most destructive hurricanes that ever occurred on its shores. Madras had already suffered from a similar hurricane a few weeks before the beginning of the year ; yet that city did not escape entirely from the fury of the winds and waves. A series of accidents occurred on the beach there which caused the loss of several valuable English lives. What is described in the papers of the time as a terrible "phenomenon," but in all likelihood was a cyclone, occurred at Jessore, causing extensive loss of life and property. Earth alone, of the four elements, remained quiet in that year, though one district, Moradabad, suffered even from earthquakes, which continued to occur there for several months. So, then, we have here the great fire of Barhampore and the floods of Burdwan of 1897 more than matched by similar calamities in 1837.

Coming from troubles caused by Nature to man to those

caused by man to himself, we find the year 1837 marked by riots between Hindus and Mahomedans in various parts of the country—at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly in the north, and at Bhewendy near Bombay. So we have here an analogue to the Chitpur riots at Calcutta. The year 1837 witnessed, in addition, an insurrection of prisoners in the jail in Aracan. As regards political troubles, we find to the front, in 1837, Hyderabad where one British officer was actually assassinated and another high officer narrowly escaped assassination. The Madras army stationed at Secunderabad was reported to be in a state of great disaffection and some of the men did wild things. Several native officers were shot dead by the privates. But disaffection was spread far beyond the ranks of the native army. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in a famous minute written only a couple of years before 1837, declared his firm conviction that “we have no hold on the affections of Indians ; more than that, disaffection is universal.”* There was an actual manifestation of this disaffection in the long and stubborn Insurrection in Canara during the year on question ; while troubles were already brewing on our North-West frontier which were soon to break out in the disastrous Afghan war that began in the next year.

There is one notable exception to the parallel between 1837 and 1897 : the Vernacular Press in the former year did not cause anxiety as it unfortunately did in that just brought to a close. The *Friend of India* of January 5th, 1837, thus winds up its review of the first year of the freedom of the Press granted by Metcalfe:—“We can most solemnly assure the Executive Government that there is no fear for twenty years to come that any native journal will either set the Ganges on fire or make an Editor’s fortune.”

It is curious to see how such years of great catastrophes are connected with the most important events in the life and reign of our great Queen. The year of Her birth was marked by the greatest earthquake of modern times in India, that of 1819, whose ravages may yet be traced after nearly eighty years in several cities. The year of her accession was the terrible year whose disasters form the subject of our present article. Her proclamation as Empress of India was in the year of one the greatest famines of this century. And now her Diamond Jubilee year has been a year of terrible, though not unprecedented, disasters. But between these great dates, which serve as landmarks, there lies a period of widespread, great and steady prosperity and progress, unretarded in the main by these occasional lapses.

* Metcalfe’s Papers, Ed. Kaye, p. 193, ed. 1855.

We will now proceed to go into some details regarding the various disasters of 1837 which we have touched on above in general terms.

PLAGUE.—To take first the plague, though it did not rage in the year 1837 and 1838 as it raged in the past year when it ravaged the whole of Western India, still this fell disease was violent enough and carried off innumerable victims, besides causing widespread alarm and panic among the inhabitants of Northern India. When the first signs of it appeared, a correspondent, writing from Saugor to a London Paper, in April, 1837, says: "A greater degree of security prevailed, as it was supposed the plague would not exist in the climate of India; nor has it ever been known, except for a few weeks in 1819-20, and then soon disappeared." And he exclaims truly: "What a dreadful thing to think of and expect!" Yes, it was, in spite of the belief of security, upon them. It is curious to see how people in 1837, like some in 1897, at first tried hard to convince themselves and others that it was not the plague, but something else, that was visiting them. "Some thought the disease was mistaken, and in general it was thought to be a mistake altogether; the cold weather, it was hoped, would stop it; but it has only increased." The *Courier* tries to comfort its readers by quoting the following extract from a letter received from Neemuch, which it hopes will assist in dissipating any alarm that may have existed lest the Palee disease should turn out to be the plague:—"As you will probably be led by the newspapers to suppose that it is the plague which is committing such ravages at Palee, I beg to state, from what the superintending surgeon (who has, no doubt, received the best intelligence on the subject) says, it does not appear to be the plague. It is nothing more than a bad fever, engendered by the filth and confined atmosphere of that town, the streets being remarkably narrow, and the houses remarkably high. The papers mention that the kafilah (caravan) of Zorawar Mull brought the disease with it to Palee, on its return from Guzerat. This, however, proves incorrect; no sickness accompanied the kafilah. Seven thousand or eight thousand people having fled from Palee to the adjacent villages, the contagion (if plague) would hardly have confined itself to the former place." And the paper adds: "Accounts received from Bombay confirm this intelligence. The disease is a putrid fever, a mere endemic, which has occasioned a great loss of life but was fast decreasing. It had been from the first confined to Palee and to people who had fled from the town after catching the distemper."*

But the facts were against this optimist view. The plague first

broke out at Palee in Mairwara, Rajputana. Captain Dixon, the political authority there, states that the sickness first appeared about the middle of August, 1836, and, after a lapse of fourteen days, extended itself to all castes and classes. Early in September the people died in the town at the rate of between fifty and sixty daily, while there was a general exodus of the inhabitants to the neighbouring places, where, however, they did not carry the fell disease at first. As regards the symptoms, Captain Dixon says : " The first symptoms of the disease are fever, prostration of strength, eyes burning and the whole system aching ; tumours are immediately formed in the groin and behind the ears, and in three or four days the sufferer dies ; only one or two in a hundred have escaped. It first attacked the Chhipis, or Musulman cloth-printers, who are said to have lost three hundred individuals. The disease next manifested itself among the Brahmans, the Mahajuns and Soucars were then attacked, when, after a lapse of fifteen days, it is said to have extended to all castes and classes."

Palee contained 12,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,200 died and 8,000 fled. Dr. Irving, who went specially to Palee to study the disease from its first breaking out, and who had the best opportunities for the purpose, had no hesitation in reporting it to Government as " the true plague." It soon began to spread over the country ; and an alarm was raised throughout the Upper Provinces. It made its appearance within thirty miles of Nuseerabad and committed great ravages in Marwar, where 50,000 inhabitants are said to have been swept away. Delhi was alarmed ; the Government was roused ; and orders were sent, in April, 1837, for the immediate adoption of measures to interrupt the progress of the plague, which appeared to spread to the eastward of its original home in Rajputana. " Cordons round the great cities, inquiries into the symptoms of the disorder, so as to put people upon their guard elsewhere, the fumigation of letters and parcels, and the establishment of quarantine, where feasible in a vast country, furnishing so very few natural barriers to the progress of the plague, are a few of the principal measures resorted to, and it is hoped that these, assisted by the hot weather, will prevent the scourge from becoming so general as is at present apprehended."

The plague raged throughout the year in various places in the North-Western Provinces, carrying terror into the neighbouring Presidency of Bengal. Calcutta was thoroughly aroused, and the papers of the day are full of urgent advice about preventive measures. The *Bengal Hurkaru* says : " There are in Calcutta many public offices and houses of business, particularly in the Burra Bazaar, where communications are almost daily received from the districts where the plague is now raging,

and we have not yet heard of any measures adopted to guard against the introduction of the plague in this city by means of such vehicles. Should the disease ever make its appearance in the crowded parts of the native town, no measure would be capable of arresting its progress; removal, separation and blockade of houses in the Burra Bazaar and its neighbourhood, appear to us equally impracticable." This sounds like an echo of what Calcutta was saying at the beginning of the plague of 1896-97. The Hindus then, as now, were busy with their theory of causation, and the *Reformer* of Calcutta stated that the Hindu community believed the disease to be a visitation from heaven for the political sins of our Government. But this theory, absurd as it is, is not half so silly as that seriously advanced by a Parsi high priest in this year of grace 1897, that the plague in Bombay was caused by the building of a new fire-temple by a rival party close to his own! The stars in their courses fought once for Sisera; so now this over-pious Dastur wants to convince his benighted flock that Heaven is fighting the battle of his fire-temple by sending down the plague! But, oddly enough for this precious theory, the Dastur's champion ravages his own flock as impartially as that of his rival, as well as many other flocks which had nothing to do with either party and did not even know of this battle of kites and crows! But Providence is blind!

As regards the preventive measures taken by the Government, the coincidence between the years 1837 and 1897 is remarkable. We all know how these measures have been received by the Indian communities in our day. The reception of sixty years ago was, if not quite identical—there seem happily to have been no murders of officials then—very similar. Sir Charles Metcalfe was then the ruler of the North-Western Provinces, which had just been formed into a Lieutenant-Governorship; and the task of initiating preventive measures devolved upon him. Those he adopted were vigorous, if not drastic, and drew forth a strong protest from the people. "Metcalfe at once determined," says his biographer, "to adopt stringent sanitary measures to arrest the progress of the pestilence, but in such a country as India, and in such a part of it as that in which the disease had broken out, the difficulty of enforcing them was extreme. Wise and vigorous as were his measures, and true as was the humanity that informed them, the exponents of native opinion were not slow to declare that they were unsuited to the inveterate prejudices of the people; but Metcalfe believed, that in such a crisis it was his duty to take a larger view of the question, and to save the people in spite of themselves." All this may be said, to the very letter, of the officials at the head of plague operations

this year. The Governor-General of the time, Lord Auckland, supported his Lieutenant strongly, and wrote to him saying : "I think you have done all that can be done against the plague, and you have fully anticipated whatever I ventured to suggest."

Metcalf's* Minute would be well worth quoting just now ; but unfortunately it is not given in the volume of selections from his papers by his biographer. In the *Asiatic Journal*, (Vol. XXIV, 1837) however, is given a good summary of it, which we may quote here. "The first measure he directs is the establishment of a cordon of posts along the frontiers, which is to prevent the ingress, into British Territories, of any person from the infected or suspected quarter, without undergoing a quarantine. The precautions prescribed in carrying this measure into effect, are detailed in the Minute and insisted on with earnestness. Having fully explained the measures he would have the local authorities adopt to prevent the introduction of the pestilence into the interior, he calls the attention of the authorities to the steps which would be necessary in case the disease, notwithstanding the preventive cordon, were to insinuate itself into any of the towns and villages there. Every possible attention to the prejudices of caste is strictly enjoined on the observance of those who are to have charge of the patients in these establishments ; but it is required that no consideration for the rank or the objections of the individuals concerned be permitted to prevent their separation or removal from relations and houses, on the ground that the safety of the community depends upon these precautions. The local authorities have, however, the option, in cases of necessity, of allowing the inmates of an infected house to continue in it ; but then the building is to be strictly blockaded, and guarded as if it were a separate hospital.

The difficulties consequent on the requisite separation of near and dear relations from each other, under such direful circumstances, are fully appreciated by Sir Charles Metcalfe ; and the only means he can suggest in case of parties refusing to separate is, that the healthy should accompany the sick to the hospitals and be subjected to the severe rules in force in those establishments. The houses from which infected persons may be removed are to be purified, with all the articles in them. The greatest care is prescribed in keeping the streets and drains of every town and village clean ; and all sorts of filth, rags, etc., found in them, or in the houses of infected persons, are to be burned, and the ashes buried ; for even ashes have been known to convey this dreadful pest from place to place. In case the disease should spread, the inhabitants are to be confined to

* Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*, Vol. II., p. 180, ed. 858.

their respective houses, and have their food furnished to them under the rules prescribed for the hospitals and the towns and villages in which contagion exists ; and they are to be cut off from free intercourse with other places, and kept under a strict blockade. Dresses made of oil-skin and tar, and frequent friction with oil have been found the best preservative against contagion, when contact with infected persons cannot possibly be avoided. But the grand means of checking and annihilating the plague is the prevention of contact with infected persons.”*

It has been asserted, during the epidemic of this year, that the calamity was entirely new and unexperienced in India before, and that the authorities had no precedent to follow in their preventive measures. Well, here there is an excellent precedent in this Minute of Metcalfe's. I do not know whether this has been noted by any one before ; at least I have not seen it noted. The measures adopted this year resemble in most respects those ordered by Metcalfe in 1837.

Such measures, in spite of the care prescribed to respect native prejudices, did not, as was natural, escape strong objection. The *Reformer* of Calcutta said : “ The more we read of the disease now raging in Rajputana, the more we become convinced of the impracticability, nay, the injurious tendency of some of the measures prescribed by Sir Charles Metcalfe for checking the evil. The dragging out of children and wives from the houses of wealthy and respectable natives and incarcerating them in a lazaretto are measures which, under existing circumstances, instead of producing any good, will be the cause of spreading the contagion more widely ; those who ought to be removed will be left at home, and those who should be left at home will be removed to the lazaretto, there to catch the very disease we dread, and thus widen the sphere of devastation. The extortions which would be practised on the healthy as a ransom from the fangs of the quarantine officers are incalculable. We fear all will, one time or another, be exposed to extortion by these harpies, commissioned by Government to violate the hitherto unseen zenanas of the respectable people. The quarantine laws of the Levant, where the plague is familiar to all, are in many respects unsuited to this country. We therefore trust the Lieutenant-Governor will use every precaution to guard against abuses, to which his plans, devised with the best intention, are open.”

That this apprehension of blackmail was not quite imaginary, we find from the *Englishman* of May 19th, 1837, which says : “ As a drawback to this satisfactory state of things, we perceive it stated, that the cordon on the Muttra frontier is relaxed by the connivance of the police, who levy a

* Vol. XXI, pp. 64-65.

tax for permitting parties to pass outward or inward. This was to have been expected from the venality of the native character ; but the mischief which is likely to result from the practice is so great that prompt measures ought to be taken to put it down, by a severe example being made of the parties engaged in it." After ravaging many districts, Jodhpoor, for instance, contributing not less than 16,000 of its people to the mortality from this cause, the plague died out towards the close of the year. But it broke out again in December in its original home at Pallee, and the people again fled from the place, "carrying the seeds of the disease wheresoever they appear."*

FAMINE.—There was a great drought in 1837 throughout Bengal and the Upper provinces, which caused a very heavy famine. This was heralded by a hot season of unprecedented severity. "The present season," says the *Friend of India* of the time, "has been one of the most extraordinary within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The rains which usually follow the summer heat have been denied us. During May and June the heat has been beyond all precedent ; and never did the traveller in the sandy waste gaze more ardently for the sparkling of the desert spring, than we have looked for one shower to water the blistering earth and cool the heated atmosphere. The ponds are universally dry, and the poor have suffered for want of water beyond what those who reside on the banks of the river can well imagine : many have dropped down in the streets, and on ship-board died. So excessive, indeed, has been the heat, that in nearly all the colleges and in most of the public offices in Calcutta and its vicinity, it has been found necessary to commence work at dawn and to close at eleven in the morning ; an event not known at Calcutta during the present century. The hot season, from which we have just escaped will long be remembered in India as the severest which has been experienced during this century," The thermometer readings were, at 9 in the morning 98°, at noon 106°, and at 2 P.M. 110°, all in the shade. The usual rains kept off, and there was a decided drought. 'So decided a drought is not within our experience of twelve years in Calcutta,' said the *Courier*. Nor was it confined to the capital. The most lamentable accounts of drought came from all quarters. The country people deserted their villages in Burdwan and other districts. There was famine in Baloochistan, Oude, Behar, Orissa and many other places. The Baloochees were so much distressed that they took to infesting the highways, and desolation, murder and rapine followed in their train. The ryots of Oude refused to pay revenue to their king,

* *Asiatic Journal* XXV, p. 212.

and as the king could not dispense with it, we are told, 'there is a furious sacrifice of life every day, in a struggle for the needful.' In Cuttack, it was reported in December 1837, the famine reached a frightful extent, causing thefts and gang robberies to increase every day. Water was so scarce that in certain places in the Bengal Presidency it sold at six *culsies* for the rupee. The mortality in Behar was terrible, and there were no signs of rain.

As the year advanced, the distress grew wider and overtook nearly the whole of the Upper Provinces. Rohtuk, Gurgaon, Panipat, and other districts were in great straits. Rajputana was badly off, and the people poured into adjoining British territories. The Government did much to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, but there was little of the systematic relief which has been organised since the famine of 1876-77.

As regards Metcalfe's exertions in the directing of relief his biographer says: "A mightier evil (than the plague) was the drought which parched up the North-Western Provinces, broke the staff of bread, and afflicted the people with famine. But a famine in India is an evil beyond the reach of human statesmanship to remedy or greatly alleviate. What, under such circumstances, could be done to mitigate the sufferings of the people was done, as 'doubtless by any other governor' it would have been done; but still those sufferings were terrible, and clouded the last year of Metcalfe's connection with the government of India. He received due praise in public addresses, for his "judicious efforts for the relief of the distressed population during this calamitous year;" but he knew how little could be effected by human agency to diminish the horrors of such a visitation.*

Human agency, we have seen, this year, could do much to diminish such horrors, and herein is the great difference between the famine of 1837 and that of 1897. The unprepared state of the Indian Government in those days to meet a famine was made the subject of severe comment at the time. A competent writer, writing in the next year, when the famine had grown worse, thus criticises the supineness of the authorities: 'Was the Bengal Government—the Supreme Government of India, the seat of legislation, the focus of power—was this Government, I say, better prepared than the Local Governments were to meet the impending evil? Alas! No. . . . Is it not evident that the Bengal Government also has been 'tried in the balance and found wanting'?—that, as the Bombay and the Madras Government in former years were overtaken, surprised, and paralysed by the famine, so it has happened to the Supreme

* Kaye's Life of Metcalfe, Vol. II, pp. 180-81.

Government at the present time?—that nothing has been learnt from experience, and that if a remedy is to be provided, it is still to be suggested?"*

PESTILENCE (CHOLERA AND FEVER).—In the wake of Famine, as is usual, followed the dire diseases of cholera and fever. Cholera raged during 1837 in all parts of India and all the three capitals, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, besides other large cities like Lucknow, were attacked. "The excessive heat, the unusual drought and the continued prevalence of the hot winds, of this season, aided by the brief and sudden change of temperature caused by very indifferent showers have produced a scourge not less awful than the plague itself—that dreadful malady, the cholera. It is now raging among the natives, and considerable terror seems to pervade the inhabitants in consequence of the fearful mortality which it has created. All the places on the river side for the accommodation of the dying sick, when carried thither, are occupied ; and funeral piles are seen, day and night, blazing almost without intermission, at the burning place at Nimtolla. Indeed, in one instance, 14 dead bodies were carried there at a late hour of the night to be burnt, 13 of which had been the victims of cholera, and almost all of them had been taken ill that very day."† Lucknow was worse off. One account states the victims to have been from 700 to 1,000 daily. 'Some families were attacked and almost all swept away within 24 hours.' It raged also in various parts of the Madras Presidency. At Secunderabad the elephants, too, were attacked, and 27 are said to have died within a short period, out of 200.‡

At Cawnpore, it carried off many of the European soldiery. Later in the year, it travelled to the South and raged with violence in many parts of the Deccan, causing great mortality in Sholapore and Poona especially. Many of the regiments moving through the country were attacked. It seemed to have travelled regularly from Hyderabad westward, and from Panwell came to the city of Bombay, where it raged fearfully in December. At first the death-rate from it was about 36, but it rose to nearly 100, a day. But at Agra from 200 to 300 people were carried off daily.

Next after cholera there were remittent fever and yellow fever. The former raged in the Panipat and Rohtuk district, destroying thousands of people. The latter appeared in Moradabad, where 1,800 people died, in the city alone, in three months. There was a severe visitation of sickness at Kamptee in June. Seven officers and two ladies fell victims to it, in

* *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 270-71,

† *Friend of India*, June 22, 1837.

‡ *Madras Herald*, July 29, 1837.

addition to many European soldiers. The symptoms of the disease were simply a sense of sudden indisposition, followed by a general sinking, unaccompanied by pain *.

FIRES.—The year 1837 was noted for most disastrous fires in several parts of the country. Calcutta in this, as in many other disasters, takes the lead. But Surat was a great sufferer. Much as that famous city has suffered from fires, that of 1837 has been burnt into the memory of its inhabitants in a terrible manner. The fire originated, it was said, in a quantity of ghee accidentally falling into the fire where a woman was preparing her evening meal, and the flame, ascending to the roof, ignited the building.† Owing to this happening in the most populous part of the city, where the houses were chiefly of wood, which the recent hot winds had rendered dry and combustible, and a high wind rising at the time, the fire spread with unexampled rapidity, and it became impossible to get it under. Within a few hours it covered an area of three miles, while there were only six or seven engines to play upon it. Some reports state the number of houses destroyed to have been 20,000; none put it below 5,000. In any case, the loss of property was immense, and it was accompanied by the loss of many lives. The misery, distress and destitution of the people consequent on the calamity were great indeed. The Government, on learning the news, placed Rs. 50,000 at the disposal of the Collector and acting Judge at Surat, who had been appointed a committee, to be advanced, on loan or otherwise, to the sufferers, as the committee might consider most in accordance with the benevolent designs of Government. All duties leviable on articles of food and building material, imported into and exported from other places for Surat were remitted, while a premium on grain imported into Surat for the consumption of the place was authorised.

Another account sent by Mr. Farish, member of Council at Bombay, to Lord Clare and Mountstuart Elphinstone, gives further harrowing details. "The loss of property to the shroffs and native bankers, whose only security for heavy sums owing to them lay in the property destroyed, has been immense, and men of wealth up to the hour of the fire occurring are now reduced to poverty, with little or no chance of recovering their losses. Bodies were discovered in such a position as to indicate that the parties had perished in the very act of escaping, with money and gold and silver ornaments found in their hands. The loss of life has been immense, and, as far as has yet been reported, no less than 500 are stated to have perished. Great

* *Madras Spectator*, 28th June, 1837.

† *Asiatic Journal* XXIV, p. 83.

numbers of cattle likewise have been burnt, and the whole scene is one of widespread ruin and desolation. The number of houses destroyed is said to be upwards of six thousand, and, from the dense population Surat contains, some faint idea of the misery and wretched state of the poor inhabitants may be conceived ; most of them are left without food or shelter, and life has been but preserved to sink under famine and want. Whole families have been dispersed, parents are seeking their children, and children their natural protectors, so that, besides being deprived of all the property they possessed, numbers have to bewail the loss of their nearest and dearest relatives."

Public subscriptions were started in Bombay for the relief of the sufferers and a lakh and-a-half was soon subscribed. The Parsis, as usual, were to the front in relief measures, and the great philanthropist of the day, Jamsetji Jijibhoy, who had not yet been knighted, the moment he heard of the disaster, despatched a ship with rice and other necessities of life worth Rs. 20,000 from Bombay to Surat, whilst two prominent Parsis of Surat itself, Bomanji Bhownuggree and the famous Ardeshir Bahadur Kotwal, fed several thousand people daily for many months. Sympathy was aroused in England also and a goodly sum was subscribed and sent to Surat, Elphinstone, Lord Clare and Sir Charles Forbes each giving £100. The unfortunate city suffered from another fire towards the close of the year, which, though it destroyed a hundred houses more, was far less severe in its effects, for the simple reason that there was little left to be burnt.

The same week which witnessed the fire in Surat also saw an almost equally disastrous fire in Calcutta. "We never saw such a destructive and general fire in Calcutta as occurred this day and still continues to burn," is the comment of the *Hurkaru* of the day. 'The dismal sweep made by the whole was more unsparing than usual, and the rapidity of the conflagration was so greatly beyond all past experience, that no doubt can exist of its having been planned and too successfully perpetrated by a gang of incendiaries.' But the great fire of April 27th was but one of a series preceding and following it. Calcutta, in fact, was suffering, it seems, from an epidemic of fires, which amounted, according to the *Hurkaru* of May 6th, to 55, destroying 8,030 houses ! The Bengal *Courier* comments thus : "The dreadful conflagrations that have, during the past week, spread misery and suffering throughout Calcutta and the environs, are, we believe, unprecedented in extent. Bazaars have been burnt down by the mile ; and what has been hitherto a very rare occurrence, pukka, brick-built houses, inhabited by persons of respectable rank in society, have been burnt down, enveloped in the general mass of conflagration. In one instance a fire ad-

vancing in one direction was only checked by encountering another which proceeded from the opposite point of the compass. It would seem that the evil will not cease till the whole of the fuel in town and the neighbourhood, that is to say, every hut of the miserable natives, be consumed."

A disastrous fire occurred also in the city of Midnapore and consumed two-thirds of that large place. Poona, too, suffered in this way, and nearly the entire town of Gawalparah in Assam was burnt down; whilst in the beginning of the next year the city of Mozufferpore in Tirhoot was almost reduced to ashes by the same calamity. So here we have, in 1837, a counterpart, or probably more than a counterpart, of the calamities by fire this year, terrible as these are,—nearly half of the ancient city of Barhampore destroyed and the rich palace of the Mysore *Raj* entirely burnt down.

FLOODS.—Surat, within four months after the fire, was visited, in August, 1837, by another awful calamity. The Tapti rose, on the 20th August, to a great height, and much of the city was under water for the three days which elapsed before the river subsided. On the night of the 28th the river again rose with incredible rapidity and completely inundated the whole of the surrounding country for many miles. The city itself was completely under water, with the exception of one or two streets—the flood rising over the roofs of the houses in all the lower parts of the town. The loss of human and animal life and of property was great. The water rose considerably higher than in the great flood of 1822. The rise of the Tapti which injured Surat also caused heavy inundations in Khandeish, from which district there came a deplorable account of the loss of human life, houses and property. The Collector of the district wrote: 'You will observe with deep concern, that 52 villages have been entirely swept away; the present list contains 83 villages partially injured, but several mamlutdars have not been able to frame their returns as yet, and many calamities are yet, I am told, still to be enumerated.'

STORMS.—Secunderabad suffered from a tremendous hail-storm in which some of the stones were two inches in diameter, "fully as large as middle-sized potatoes;" and the city exhibited the appearance of having suffered a cannonade. Madras had suffered two months before the beginning of this year 1837, from a tremendous hurricane. There was no great calamity from the elements there during the year. But there were some serious and fatal accidents in the surf there, in which many European officers lost their lives, and which caused a great sensation, especially owing to the culpable negligence of some of the harbour authorities. From Jessore there was news of what was called 'a strange phenomenon.' 'A column of vapour,

which darkened the air, was observed to rise in the west, directly over the canal, which it approached with inconceivable violence, converting the substantial residence of the principal Babu there into a heap of ruins, whirling 40 or 50 huts into the air and killing 14 of the inmates. Continuing its devastating progress, it swept everything formed by nature or art in its path. Human beings, as well as cattle, trees, and boats with their contents, are described as being borne upwards, where, acquiring a spiral motion, they were as suddenly thrown to the ground with great force in all directions. The loss of life was about 100. This, then, is the counterpart, in 1837, of the far more terrible cyclone of Chittagong of 1897.

Bombay was visited by a terrific hurricane, indeed the most terrific from which it has ever suffered, with the doubtful exception of that of 1851. The old *Bombay Gazette* calls it 'the severest gale that has visited Bombay within the memory of man.' "No language can describe the scene of desolation the harbour presented about 2 P. M., when the gale abated a little: the bay was strewn with bales of cotton and parts of the wrecks of boats and ships; in the Back Bay the dead were washed out of their graves and floated about the shore; the roofs of houses were torn off, trees blown down, and buggies and other conveyances capsized. There was scarcely a dry house on the island, and goods to a great amount were destroyed in the godowns. But, perhaps, nothing can show the strength of the wind more than the state of the light-house during the gale; for, strongly built as it is, it tottered on its base and seemed momentarily on the point of falling. The officer in charge was blown off his legs and the upper roof of his powder magazine forced off entire, and pitched on the roof of the adjoining guard-room, which it completely demolished. The roofs of some of the terraces in the Fort were carried away in the mass and were to be seen floating along on the wind as if they had been but mere Pullicat handkerchiefs. Out of nearly 50 vessels in the harbour, scarcely more than 6 were to be found, which have not more or less suffered from the gale. Upwards of 400 houses in the native town have been destroyed; and in the Fort, the *Courier* office was materially injured. The proceedings of the Supreme Court were suspended." The East India Company suffered a loss of a lakh of rupees owing to the loss of two steamers and two ships of its fleet, and half a lakh more owing to the loss of cargo.

RIOTS.—The year 1837 was marked by several riots in various parts of the country between the Hindus and Mahomedans. These were chiefly during the period of the Mohurram of the latter. As in the case of the Chitpur riots of the present year, there were many signs of hostility to the Europeans

and general disaffection among the Mahomedans. Speaking of the disturbances at Shahjehanpore, the *Agra Ukhbar* of April 29th, 1837, says : " The most alarming disaffection to Government has been shown by the Mahomedans, and unless some extraordinary punishment of a general nature is inflicted in the present instance, the audacity displayed must be looked upon as an index of future disturbances of a more serious kind." The riots in that district began with the Mahomedans killing the Hindus and burning their street. But it assumed a more dangerous aspect when spread it through the entire district. Four villages were seen in flames at the same time and thirteen dead and wounded were found in another. In one purganah several of the police officers were wounded. But, by the capture of nearly 700 of the rioters, quiet was restored. " From a fact which transpired, that the rioters were not of the poorer classes, it would appear that some other motive than hunger drove them to their violent proceedings."

At Bareilly, too, there was a severe collision between the two religions. The Mahomedans were unwilling that the Hindus should celebrate their Ramnavmi festival with music in the streets, as their Mohurram was being celebrated at the same time. The authorities, coming to know of this, placed troops in the city to prevent disturbances. But, when these were withdrawn, the Mahomedans attacked the Hindus and there was a free fight, with numerous casualties. The Kotwal and Nazir of the city were found to be the chief aggressors on the Mahomedan side. The *Agra Ukhbar* severely commented on the attitude of the leading Mahomedans : " The principal Mussulmans appeared ostensibly in the characters of peace-makers, and the controllers of the ruffian mob of the city. They co-operated, apparently zealously, with the civil authorities, in endeavours to repress any outbreak during the Mohurram ; but the fact of that outbreak having taken place, proved how insincere and ineffectual their efforts were. Their endeavours to preserve peace consisted, if our authority be correct, in representing to these fanatical ruffians, that they should bide their time, and that God would afford them many more favourable opportunities of asserting His and their cause by the murder of the Hindus. They added another and a more intelligent reason, that Government were on the *qui vive*, and determined to secure to the Hindus, to the utmost of their power, the full and unmolested exhibition of their indecent but otherwise harmless mummery. These representations were partially effectual ; but it is clear, we cannot place any confidence in the support of the head Mussulmans of Bareilly. Their covert countenance and connivance are further seen in the now notorious fact that several secret conspiracies have been organised

at that time, the objects of which are the murder and spoliation of the Hindus." Condemning the steps taken by the local authorities, the same paper says that they were just conciliatory enough to effect the very reverse of what they were expected to do. These were in the shape of advice to the Hindus to waive their right to what the British Government guaranteed them, and, by conceding a trifling point, purchase that forbearance from the Mahomedans which Government were unable to enforce. The point of such an argument would be at once visible to bolder people than the Hindus of Bareilly; and they acted upon it. "Buswant Rao, whose capacity for comprehending such a line of argument had been considerably increased by the previous attempt on his life, as the principal Hindu of the place, subscribed to the agreement, by which he conceded all the points of dispute between the Hindus and Mussulmans, and, as far as his religious liberty was concerned, placed himself in the position he would have occupied under the Government of the renowned Hafiz Khan were that worthy in the place of the British Government" (in Rohilcund). These strictures are specially interesting just now in the light of the rumour that spread so widely at first as regards the conduct of the Government in the Chitpur Mosque affair.

At Bhewendy, in the Bombay Presidency, another riot broke out, precisely under the same circumstances as that at Bareilly. The Mohurium and Ramnavmi festivals falling on the same day caused a collision between the rival religionists. The Mahomedans, as usual, were the aggressors. They intimidated the Hindus into stopping their customary processions. But the latter passively retaliated by abstaining from taking any part in the Mohurium festival as musicians, coolies, carrying *taboots*, &c. The Mahomedans were enraged at this and desecrated several Hindu temples, killing and assaulting Brahmans. At Bassein, too, a similar riot took place, but not with so much violence. At Bhewendy the Mahomedans returned to the attack after a fortnight, and some of them threw lighted hay upon the warehouse of a leading Banian merchant, whereby that and fifteen or sixteen houses were burnt down. "This has thrown the Hindus into such a state of consternation that every man seems to consider his life and property as held only upon the tenure of the pleasure of the Mahomedan population, against whom, from their superior numbers and greater wealth and influence, the Hindus are afraid to prefer any charges in a public court. Such an alarming aspect do things bear, that a vast number of Hindus have resolved upon leaving the country, should no check be placed upon the present scenes of violence and insult." A check was placed, and many rioters were punished by the Supreme Court.

The prisoners in the jail at Arracan, in the then recently acquired Burmese province, rose against their keepers in a body, overpowered the sentries, and, seizing these men's arms, made a rush at the open gates. For a time they were having their own way ; but the arrival of two or three European officers on the scene made the sepoys steady, and they fired upon the prisoners and drove them into the jail at the point of the bayonet. Nine of them, including the ring-leader, were killed, while nine more were wounded. Two of the keepers also died.

INSURRECTION.—The province of Canara, then belonging to Madras, was in a state of open rebellion this year and gave much trouble to the authorities. The town of Mangalore was besieged by the rebels for a long time, and the authorities were greatly annoyed and harassed. The disaffection spread to Coorg, and many people there rose and followed the example of the Canarese. But the Coorg Chief put down this rising. As regards this disaffection, the *Bombay Courier* said, that the spirit of disaffection had been spreading through the Mysore country for many months, originating in a Brahminical conspiracy. Mysore, Coorg and the Southern Mahratta country were spoken of as most disaffected ; and, when it broke out at Canara, no suspicion existed of its having spread into that district. Mysore, indeed, was so watched that no unforeseen rising could take place there, and the principal Coorg chiefs were not persons to be led astray. In order to draw the Coorgs, it was given out that the Rajah had fled from the ill-treatment of the British at Benares, and had sought refuge among the Brahmans. Among other facts it appears that the Brahmans had converted the pagoda of Sorbroomooncah, a place of pilgrimage from Mysore, Canara, Coorg and the Southern Mahratta country, into a regular magazine and store-house, whence ammunition and arms were liberally supplied to all who would use them against our authority.

The insurrection was not put down without great trouble and caused great suffering to many people. At times the situation was considered critical. But the provinces were brought under control in a few months. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the causes and origin of the insurrection ; and certain native chiefs of ' hitherto unsuspected integrity were found to be implicated in it.

Among other political troubles of the year there was anxiety about Hyderabad, a fertile source of trouble and anxiety at all periods. Chandoo Lal, the famous minister, was still in power ; but he was very ill, and conspiracies were rife. Two events, happening within a day of each other, disturbed the calm of the authorities. The first was what was called a ' pig feud,'—

a huge dead pig was found thrown into the principal mosque of the Mahomedans, who were excited to madness thereby and threatened to kill every Hindu in the place. The British officer commanding, with great tact, composed the infuriated mob and averted a serious tumult. The next day a Mussulman with a drawn sword rushed into the Residency, dashed through the guards, and succeeded in gaining Captain Malcolm's apartments, crying out, "Malcolm, your time is come." But fortunately Malcolm was away ; and so the guards rushed in and seized the man before he could do any harm. The *Englishman* of the time drew attention to these and other troubles in Hyderabad in a powerful article and advocated British intervention. "The present temper of the Mussulman population shows, we will not say the approach of a crisis, but the probability at any rate of its occurrence, unless timely means of prevention or mitigation of the evil be adopted."

The native army caused considerable anxiety. A spirit of disobedience towards the officers was widespread. At Secunderabad, within three months, there were three cases of sepoys firing at, and in two of them killing, their native officers. One of the culprits was about to be garlanded with chaplets of flowers by some of his comrades when he had to pass the lines of his regiment, but the presence of the European officers made them think better of it. Insolent placards were also found posted on the barracks at that place by the sepoys. At Kamptee a sepoy fired at his European officer, but missed. But at Chyebassa, in Singbhoom, Ensign Blenkinsop was murdered by a *sowar* who had been ordered to drill for most insubordinate conduct.

As regards the political troubles of the Indian Government at this period, we find a well-informed writer writing as follows in the *Asiatic Journal*, a few months after the end of the year the disasters of which we have tried to recount here: "It may be doubted if at any time since we first occupied territory in India such deep and dangerous disaffection has prevailed as exists at present. Our unsparing taxation, our long-continued and augmenting exhaustion of the resources of the country, our resumption of rent-free lands, our reduction of establishments and of public expenditure, our schemes of conversion under the mask of education, and the pretext of non-interference with religious ceremonials, have spread and are spreading throughout India, universal alarm and discontent. The political horizon is equally overcast: both in the west and in the east the faint flashes of an approaching tempest have already been displayed, and if the storm once burst in either quarter, it will immediately fall upon us with fury from the other. Engaged in hostilities with Persia, backed by Russia ; with Ava, which

has already insulted us ; and with Nepal, preparing, if report be true, most vigorously to recover its lost power and possessions, we shall soon be entangled in a plentiful crop of domestic embarrassments, some by our own blindness, faithlessness and fanaticism. This is not the language of an alarmist ; it is prompted by the contemplation of our proceedings in India, and by authentic information from the natives themselves of the sentiments which they entertain : it is the language also of five out of six of the Company's servants who have recently returned from India—of men who have used the opportunities which they enjoyed of observing the signs of the times : it is the language of all who are capable of connecting causes and consequences, and who know that invidiousness begets suspicion, and that intolerance engenders hate.*"

One might well use much the same language as this, *mutatis mutandis*, about the outlook at present. The woes that we have recounted form a terrible budget of misery for one year. That year, it must have been seen, was really more calamitous than the present one, which has been by nearly all voted as the most terrible in this century. But, as has been shown, even this terrible year 1897 is a repetition of 1837. There is nothing new under the sun, and history repeats itself with strange persistency. This comparison may afford us grounds for patience and consolation. The terrible cloud passed off at the beginning of the Queen's Reign and left few signs of permanent injury behind, except, perhaps, in the case of the troubles in the Afghan frontier. Nothing came of the dangerous and widespread disaffection in the country, and the Mutiny was twenty years further off. In fact, the country, very soon after this year of woes, revived and began its steady course of prosperity, which has continued, with checks, of course, till the present year. Let us hope that history will repeat itself in this too, and trust that with this year will also pass away the disasters and calamities which it has brought upon us.

"Are there thunders moaning in the distance ?
Are there spectres moving in the Darkness ?
Trust the Hand of Light will lead her people,
Till the thunders pass, the spectres vanish,
And the Light is Victor, and the Darkness
Dawns into the Jubilee of the Ages."

There are heavy and widespread natural calamities ; there may be serious political troubles, disaffection of the people and rejoicing of our enemies. But, so long as Britain is true to herself, to her principles and traditions ; so long as she is true to her historical character for justice, fortitude, calmness and mercy, she can afford to defy any dangers and face 'a world in arms.'

R. P. KARKARIA.

ART. II.—INDIAN BAMBOOS.

(Continued from October 1897.)

Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, Vol. VII.—
The *Bambusee* of British India. By J. S. Gamble, M. A.,
F. L. S., Conservator of Forests, School Circle, and Director
of the Imperial Forest School, Dehra Dún. Calcutta :
Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1896.
The Bamboo Garden. By A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C. B.
London : Macmillan & Co., Limited.

BAMBOOS IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

MR. Freeman-Mitford says that his book has no scientific pretensions. "It is simply an attempt to give a descriptive list—what the French call a catalogue raisonné—of the hardy bamboos in cultivation in this country" (the British Islands), "and to focus such information in regard to them as could be obtained from Japanese as well as from European sources, and was therefore not readily available to the general public."

Some of the matter had already appeared in a series of articles published in 1895 in the *Garden* newspaper; but all the matter has been revised and corrected, while the descriptions of species have been almost entirely rewritten. The task was not found to be an easy one, and Mr. Mitford—the penalty for bearing a double, or hyphened, surname is that the first part is dropped by other people, for convenience sake—says it would have been impossible but for the encouragement and assistance given him by Sir Joseph Hooker and Mr. Thistleton Dyer, the Director of Kew Gardens. (Has not a hyphen been dropped by Mr. Mitford from between the names of the last-mentioned botanist?) The help cordially given by Messrs. Nicholson, Watson, and Bean, of the Royal Gardens, also is acknowledged; and Mr. Bean's articles on Hardy Bamboos, which appeared in the *Gardners' Chronicle* in 1894, are said to contain much valuable information. Lord Annesley, Lord de Saumarez, Sir Edmund Loder, the Right Hon. Mr. A. Smith-Barry, M. P., and Mr. Rashleigh of Menabilly communicated their experience of bamboo cultivation in various parts of the British Isles to Mr. Mitford; and M. Latour-Marliac, Lot-et-Garonne, France, "the greatest European importer of bamboo plants," also is thanked.

Mr. Mitford has not hesitated to draw largely upon such rich store-houses of knowledge as the Messrs. Rivière's beautifully illustrated book, *Les Bambous*, and the late General Munro's

monograph, which are respectively, he says, the French and English classics on the subject; but he says that these books are now not up to date, which justifies him in bringing out another. It is a pity that Mr. Mitford wrote before Mr. Gamble's work on Indian bamboos came out. But he had evidently seen some of the proof sheets of it, for he gives Mr. Gamble the credit of having pointed out a wrong identification of a plant with the Himalayan *Arundinaria Khasiana*: this plant Mr. Mitford therefore described anew as *A. nitida*. And in Chapter VII, "Future possibilities," in which he dons the mantle of a prophet, and says that the great and unexpected success which has attended the acclimatisation of those bamboos which English growers already possess, is but a herald of further triumphs, and then points out that altitudes in tropical climates by no means represent the same temperatures that they do in Europe (latitude, and the corresponding altitude of the sun, also are factors in climate). Mr. Mitford says:—

"When these facts are discounted it is still certain that the Himalayas are full of treasures which we do not yet possess. In India, however, there are a Forestry Department, and Botanical Gardens, under the direction of men of science, and all the machinery for learned exploration, and shortly, it may be hoped, will appear Mr. Gamble's great monograph on Indian Bamboos, published under the auspices of the Government, which will throw a totally new light on the subject. It is safe to prophesy, therefore, that all that is to be found in the Himalayas fitting our climate will before very long be available."

If there be one feature which more than any other, Mr. Mitford says, distinguishes our modern gardens from the trim pleasaunces in which our forbears took their ease, it is the value given to beauty of form in plants, as apart from that of colour. No one will deny the supreme loveliness of the bamboo family in this respect. Bamboos have added to our borders, our shrubberies, and more especially to our wild gardens, a wealth of beauty which a few years ago would have been deemed beyond the craziest dreams of the enthusiast.

"It needed the energy and the enterprise of such collectors as Messrs. Veitch, the brothers Villa of Genoa, and above all M. Latour-Marliac of Temple-sur-lot (a name which will always be associated with the hybridisation of Water Lilies), to establish the fact that, even if we may not hope to see our bamboos grow to the huge dimensions which they attain in their native countries, there are many the hardiness of which is proof against our severest winters. Surrounded as the present writer is by a great number of varieties of these famous grasses, it is impossible for him to doubt their powers of resistance. They have stood through four winters and 26° of frost; they have resisted an even more deadly enemy than frost in the droughts of 1892, 1893, and 1895. In the more congenial summer of 1894 they shot into life with a vigour which gave the best promise of a future when they shall have been thoroughly established. But, alas! the great

Sun-God, who should have ripened the shoots, hid his face throughout the year, and when the grim winter of 1895 set in, the culms had not the enduring power to resist its attacks." "Many species were badly cut." "The rhizomes, which must have made rare growth during a wet summer and an autumn which lasted beyond Christmas (witness the roses!), can have no more ripened than the culms, and must have been cruelly pinched when at last the frost came with its iron nippers. As a matter of consequence the first shoots were not so strong as they would have been but for this combination of adversities. The normal yearly increase in the size of the young plants was not observable. But there was no falling out of the ranks; not a single species, hardly a single plant was lost; and now, at the end of a hot but terribly dry summer, the plants have increased in bulk, if not in height, and hope again tells the most flattering of tales. From all quarters—I am writing only of places under the normal climate of England, and not of the favoured regions of the Far West and South—the same report reaches me: a severe check, but no deaths." "What wonder if the poor home-sick starvelings have found it a hard matter to retain a spark of life in a strange land, where they find neither the glorious sunshine nor the bounteous rains which gave them birth? But the fight is over now, and the victory is won. The death-roll is practically nil; and the survivors are thriving peacefully, accommodating themselves to new and altogether strange conditions of existence, proof, to all appearance, against any treachery which the climate of the Cotswold Hills may bring to bear against them. We need not despair of seeing, in a few years, miniature groves of bamboos clothed in all their marvellous grace, and lacking no native beauty, save only at night the myriad darting lamp of the fire-flies, by whose light, as the pretty fable runs, Confucius and his disciples used to study."

Mr. Mitford has had but a very limited experience in bamboo propagation, and the observations under that head contained in Chapter II. of his book are, therefore, taken almost entirely from Messrs. Rivière's treatise. The hardy species may be propagated either (1) by seed, (2) by division, (3) by cuttings of the base of the culm, with or without the rhizome attached, (4) by cuttings of rhizomes. A fifth process, propagation by layering, is available only in the case of the autumn-growing or tender bamboos: endless experiments made by the Messrs. Rivière in Algiers have proved the futility of the attempts in the case of the hardy species—the reason being that the upper knots, or joints, which alone can be bent down for layering, do not bear the buds from which new culms can spring and roots shoot downwards. Propagation by seed must—owing to the rarity of the occurrence of seeding—always be the method least used. Mr. Mitford has never been able to get ripe seed of any of the hardy species; but yet he gives minute directions for sowing, and how to rear seedlings—perhaps of the non-hardy sorts. For propagation by the other methods he may be taken as a guide. Chapter III. contains hints as to choice of position and soil in which to plant bam-

boos, and the best mode of culture. Shelter from wind and frost are the great points to attend to. A rich, warm spot, especially under the influence of sea air, with partial shade, and a good screen on the north and east, is the true home of the bamboo. Sea mists bring moisture to the leaves, and are Nature's syringe. From the landscape gardener's point of view a good back ground is of the first importance: such is afforded by a bay in a clump of Hollies, or Evergreens. "A group planted on a lawn may be very effective, but bamboos are seen at their best when their gracefully bending culms are shown in contrast against stiffer and darker foliage. If such a position can be found on the banks of running water, with here and there a moss-grown rock cropping out of the hill-side, there you have the ideal composition dear to the Japanese landscape painter." . . . "Let the groups be as big as may be suitable, but do not mix the species. Let each stand out by itself. As Mr Bean says, 'if this is not attended to, and the spreading rhizomes kept within certain bounds, the different kinds run into each other, and the whole eventually becomes a hopeless jungle.'" Mr. Mitford warns his readers against planting out imported bamboos in their permanent places before they have recovered from the effects of the journey: he has lost many fine specimens by so doing.

Under the head of USES, CUSTOMS, and SUPERSTITIONS, in Chapter IV., Mr. Mitford quotes from, besides some of the authorities cited in an earlier part of this article, Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, and Sir Emerson Tennant's *Ceylon*; and he refers to a *Note sur la Culture du Bambou et ses Usages industriels dans la région des Pyrénées et dans le Sud-ouest de la France* (1878), by M. Calvert, sub-inspector of forests, as giving some interesting particulars of the success of a venture started by M. Guillemin in 1861 at Gan in the Basses Pyrénées. In 1878 there were these nine acres under bamboos, at an altitude of about 1,100 feet above the sea, yielding a profit of from 325 to 400 francs per acre annually. The cost of planting was 3,000 francs per acre, and the plants reached maturity in from seven to eight years, when the older shoots were cut with a result of the profit just mentioned. Three particular species are recommended for industrial cultivation, and Mr. Mitford quotes a price-list of pieces of bamboos sold at Gan for various purposes, by the hundred, by the dozen, or by the mètre—if for fishing rods and other purposes for which length is of importance—, and of articles made from bamboo, such as drinking-cups, napkin-rings, shoe-horns, tobacco-pipes, penholders, &c. Though a leading London umbrella and stick-maker told him that in his trade the canes of the south of France were eschewed, as in-

sufficiently ripened and consequently liable to split, Mr. Mitford thinks the economic results obtained at Gan might tempt some enterprising horticulturist or farmer in Devonshire or Cornwall to make a similar experiment, a permanent profit of about £16 per acre at the end of eight years being an alluring bait. The south of Glamorganshire, where the vineyard of Bourdeaux vines started by Lord Bute about 1874 has been so successful, might be suggested as another locality for the experiment. Mr. Mitford mentions that the frames of bicycles and tricycles have recently (in America it is believed) been made of bamboo, and quotes from a report in one of the daily newspapers which said :—No one would credit, until after actual trial, the strength and rigidity which the bamboo cycles possess, coupled at the same time with a definite amount of increased comfort. . . . “The latest honour achieved by a bamboo is (according to a Birmingham paper) that of having furnished to a Church in Shanghai a set of organ pipes which, for softness and mellowness of tone, out-do all others.”

Regarding the etymology of “bamboo” Mr. Mitford says it would seem as if it were fated that some mystery should enshroud everything connected with these plants. Their very name is as great a puzzle to etymologists as their different species are a riddle to botanists. The word bamboo, says Colonel Yule, in his *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words* (J. Murray, 1886):—

“One of the commonest in Anglo-Indian daily use, and thoroughly naturalised in English, is of exceedingly obscure origin. According to Wilson, it is Canarese—Banbu. Marsden inserts it in his dictionary as good Malay. Crawford says it is certainly used on the West coast of Sumatra as a native word, but that it is elsewhere unknown to the Malay language. The usual Malay word is Buluh. He thinks it more likely to have found its way into English from Sumatra than from Canara. But there is evidence enough of its familiarity among the Portuguese before the end of the sixteenth century to indicate the probability that we adopted the word, like so many others, through them. We believe that the correct Canarese word is Banwu. In the sixteenth century the word in the Concan appears to have been Mambu, or at least so it was represented to the Portuguese. Rumphius seems to suggest a quaint onomatopœia: ‘Vehementissimos edunt ictus et sonitus, quum incendio comburantur, quando notum ejus nomen Bambu, Basuhu, facile exauditur’ (Herbarium Amboinense, IV. 17). It is possible that the Canarese word is a vernacular corruption or development of the Sanskrit Vansā. Bamboo does not occur, so far as we can find, in any of the earlier sixteenth century books, which employ Canna, or the like.”

Báns—with the termination pronounced nasally—is the vernacular for bamboo in Northern India. Colonel Yule quotes many passages to prove the use of the word Manbu in India. From a Portuguese ‘Tractado,’ 1578, he takes the following :—

“Some of these (canes), especially in Malabar, are found so large that the people make use of them as boats, not opening them out, but cutting one of the canes right across and using the natural knots to stop the ends, and so

a couple of naked blacks go upon it . . . each of them at his own end of the Mambu (so they call it) being provided with two paddles, one in each hand . . . and so upon a cane of this kind the folk pass across and sitting with their legs clinging naked."

Again:—

"And many people on that river (of Cranganor) made use of these canes in place of boats, to be safe from the numerous crocodiles or caymans (as they call them) which are in the river (which are in fact great and ferocious lizards)."

How clinging by the legs to a bamboo floating in the river could ensure safety from caymans does not appear, but Mr. Mitford says, Colonel Yule accepts these passages as "explaining, if not justifying," the "big bounce" of Ctesias—the old writer whom, Mr. Gamble says, Ruprecht quoted. "No doubt," says Mr. Mitford, "Ctesias did often draw a very long bow. But then it must be remembered that he never was in India, and that his book was based upon hearsay picked up at the Court of Persia four hundred years B. C., when he was private physician to King Artaxerxes Mnemon." The two earliest quotations cited by Colonel Yule in which the name appears in its present form, are from Fitch, in Hakluyt, ii. 391 (A. D. 1586), and Linschoten (printed at London, by John Wolfe, 1598), in which respectively the spelling is Bambos and Bambus.

Mr. Mitford quotes Munro's classification of the *Bambusæ* (*Bainbuseæ*) in three sections, (1) *TRIGLOSSÆ*, (2) *BAMBUSEÆ VERÆ*, and *BACCIFERÆ*, and his sub division of *TRIGLOSSÆ* into three sub-sections, 1. *Arundinariæ*, 2. *Aithrostylidæ*, and 3. *Chusqueæ*, and again *Arundinariæ* into three groups—*Arundinaria*, *Thamnocalamus*, and *Phyllostachys*, and says that to one or other of these three groups of the sub-section *Arundinariæ* it is probable that almost, if not quite, all of the hardy Bamboos must be referred, though Munro classes some of them with which he was imperfectly acquainted, not having seen the flowers, as *Bambuseæ veræ*. Where a doubt exists, Mr. Mitford thinks it, perhaps, best to preserve the familiar *Bambusa*, "without prejudice." It might be thought better still, in such a case, to use the popular word Bamboo, along with any specific Latin name that may have been given to a plant.

For gardening purposes the Bamboos have been separated into two divisions:—1. Those which in their own country come into growth in the summer, and 2, those which show their shoots in the spring.

"With the former division we have nothing to do. They are aliens that cannot support themselves, and there is no home for them in England."

Except in hot houses, e.g., *Dendrocalamus giganteus*, and other tropical species, which, as has been already shown in this article, require only heat, moisture, and head-room enough, to attain very full development.

"The latter, on the contrary," those that show their shoots in the spring, "we may receive with open arms and gladly adopt as most useful, naturalised subjects. It must be obvious that plants which renew their life so late in the year that it needs the full power of a scorching climate to enable them to ripen their wood, must starve under the feeble and uncertain rays of our sun. Those, on the other hand, which in their own home begin to grow in spring, though some of them are later here, can mature their new shoots in time for them to ripen before winter. "Belated laggards are fore-doomed:" the larger *Arundinarias* especially *A. Simoni*, lose many autumn shoots by not shooting them in time. "Still the great mass of the shoots of the spring-growing species may be relied upon, and, seeing that by degrees, as the plants become established in their new home, they season by season put forth their young growth earlier, the complete acclimatisation even of such lazy colonists as *Phyllostachys mitis* would seem to be only a question of time and patience."

It is to China and Japan, those inexhaustible sources, which for thirty years have been continually pouring new treasures into our gardens and parks, that Mr. Mitford and his fellow "bambusiasts" in Europe owe most of the hardy Bamboos. "So far, India has yielded only five species capable of cultivation in the open air in the British Isles; and indeed one of these, *Thamnocalamus Falconeri*,* can scarcely be called hardy, though it flourishes in Cornwall and in Ireland. From the United States of North America is drawn one species, *Arundinaria macrosperma*. The Andes (unless, indeed, *Bambusa disticha* should prove to be identical with *Chusquea tessellata*) and Africa have hitherto given us nothing." Almost all the hardy bamboos grow, like Couch Grass, from rhizomes or creeping root-stocks, and some of them, which Mr. Mitford names, have strong running roots invading everything, and therefore demand well-isolated positions. Others seem, under the cramping positions of British soil and climate, to lose for a time their power of spreading, as for instance *Arundinaria japonica*, some plants of which, in Mr. Mitford's garden, only began to throw up shoots at a distance from the parent stems after having been established for seven years. Some idea of the vigour with which Bamboos spread in their native homes may be formed, Mr. Mitford says, from what Professor Sargent says in his *Forest Flora of Japan*, p. 7:—

"In Japan the forest-floor is covered, even high on the mountains, and in the extreme North, with a continuous, almost impenetrable, mass of dwarf bamboos of several species, which makes travelling in the woods, except over long-beaten paths, and up the beds of streams, practically impossible. These Bamboos, which vary in height from 3 to 6 feet in different parts of the country, make the forest-flora monotonous and uninteresting, and prevent the growth of nearly all other under-shrubs, except the most vigorous species. Shrubs, therefore, are mostly driven to the borders of roads and other open spaces, or to the banks of streams and lakes, where they can obtain sufficient light to enable them to rise above the Bamboos; and it is the abundance of the Bamboos, no doubt, which has developed the climbing habit of many Japanese plants, which are obliged to ascend the trees in search of sun and light, for the Japanese forest is filled with climbing shrubs, which flourish with tropical luxuriance."

* Mr. Gamble describes this as an *Arundinaria*, *A. Falconeri*, Bth. & Hook. fil. Mr. Mitford thinks it probable the two genera will ultimately be merged in one.

The underground growth of a Bamboo may be well understood by examining one of the flexible Wang-hai canes sold by whip and stick-makers. These canes are, indeed, Mr. Mitford says, made of the rhizomes, or creeping root-stocks, of *Phyllostachys* (probably *P. nigra*). In one cane he instances the knots are from 1 inch to 2 inches apart; and all round the knots are the scars left by cutting away the verticellated rootlets, and on each knot, placed alternately, is a larger scar marking the place once occupied by the stem-bud. The stem-bud first appears as a small hard cone safely encased in an armour of protecting sheaths. When vegetation begins the cone softens and swells, and is drawn up telescope-wise until two or three tiny blades, variously coloured, are seen piercing the surface of the soil; and almost simultaneously roots begin to strike downwards, and a new plant asserts its independence. From such a bud Mr. Mitford describes lovingly the growth—at first slow and deliberate, but after a while vigorous and rapid—of the culm or stem, and, after that has, in about six weeks, attained nearly its full height, the growth of its branches; and he shows how the culm-sheaths, each surmounted by its little ligule and blade, and springing from the concealed joints, by adhering closely to the culm, prevent the rain water from running down inside and choking the stomata of the bud. When a culm has grown to nearly its full height, the lower sheaths begin to stand out and the branches to show themselves. This process continues upwards until the topmost branch has been revealed, and the sheaths, having played their part as protectors and being no longer wanted, drop off. After a culm has grown to its full size, succeeding years will add nought to its height or bulk; but the branches will become more dense, and the root-stock will grow until the plant has reached its utmost capabilities, and the stems of each succeeding year will be taller and stouter. This is the habit of *Phyllostachys*: in *Arundinaria* the mode of growth is different. The sheaths do not begin to loosen their hold of the culm, nor the branches to shoot, until the culm has attained quite its full height, and then the ramification is almost simultaneous along its whole length: in fact the development is rather from the top downwards; and the sheaths often do not drop off until the second year. The Messrs. Rivière's book, "*Les Bambous*," mentioned above, contains beautiful drawings showing the rhizomes of various species as they would be revealed were a section made of the soil in which they grow, with the stem-buds, and the culms springing from them.

Mr. Mitford describes a phenomenon in the early life of some hardy bamboos grown in Algiers, as noted by the Messrs.

Rivière, which has been as yet only probably explained. Though the soil has, before the young shoots spring up, been hardened by the long droughts peculiar to the climate, it begins, spontaneously to show signs of moisture :—

“ Gradually the surface heaves and cracks, and with this mysterious assistance the shoots are enabled to push upwards. A careful examination for two or three days after the first appearance, especially in the early morning, shows that during the night the bud has supplied or condensed a quantity of water sufficient to soak the earth by which it is surrounded. The bud itself at early dawn, before sunrise, is abundantly impregnated with moisture. How is this moisture produced? Perhaps it has come from a secretion of the plant, for, on its young and hardly-developed organs, there appear tiny drops which from time to time are detached and fall upon the soil. At first it was supposed that this moisture, which was observed every morning, might be caused by the condensation of night dews or mists upon the young shoots; but where these had been covered and protected against all external influences, the same phenomena were observed. Various and repeated experiments failed to give any explanation of the cause of this moisture,” (until) “ In the month of August 1874 Messrs. Rivière observed what they describe as showers of rain falling from the leaves of certain bamboos at eventide. They were enabled to gather enough of this water to take its temperature. Whether the former (?) wonder occurs here even in a modified degree, I am unable to say, for our plants are so heavily mulched that it would be scarcely possible to observe it; but I certainly have noticed dew, drops standing on the leaves and stems of my bamboos, when the surrounding vegetation, both above, below, and at the same height, was quite dry.”

Mr. Mitford has observed that all those bamboos, without a single exception, which have been proved to be thoroughly hardy in the British Isles have the veins of their leaves tessellated, that is to say, in chequers, crossing one another like the threads of a spider's web, or the meshes of a net; while all those proved to be tender, or only half-hardy, have the veins of their leaves striated, that is to say, running in parallel lines from base to point. But there are many bamboos with tessellated venation which cannot be grown in this country. Only one thing is certain, he says, namely, that no bamboo introduced up to the present has proved hardy that has not such tessellation.

Mr. Mitford's description of the veins of a thoroughly hardy bamboo, as crossing one another like the meshes of a net, is hardly borne out by the illustration he gives, drawn by one of the microscopists of the Kew laboratory; for, from this and the note accompanying it, it appears that, in the first place, the main veins are similar in both classes of leaves (they are striated in both), and it is only the intermediate veinlets, or “ finer venation,” which differ in the two; and, in the second place, in the tessellated class not even the veinlets cross one another: the “ finer venation ” consists in both classes of longitudinal parallel veinlets, unconnected in the tender or non-hardy species, but in the hardy species connected by cross veinlets between each pair of longitudinals, placed at irregular intervals and alternately, so that no one cross vein-

let connects three or more longitudinals. And Mr. Mitford's division of his bamboos into hardy and tender seems hardly correct, in some cases at least; for, in giving instances of differing venation he says:—"Of the Himalayan species up to the present in cultivation, *Thamnocalamus* (*Arundinaria*) *Falconeri* and *Arundinaria falcata* die down in winter, the latter, indeed, does so in its own country; their leaf-veins are striated." Does Mr. Mitford mean to say that *Arundinaria falcata* is not hardy even in its native habitat, because the culms die down in winter, *i.e.*, are only annual? It is presumed that this species sends up fresh culms every year in his garden, and that, though deciduous as regards its herbaceous stems, it is nevertheless hardy. Mr. Mitford finds an analogous distinction between the leaf-veins of *Chamærops excelsa*, the one Palm which he says is hardy in England, and has tessellated leaf-veins, and the tender Palms: he has examined many of the latter and found that all have striated leaf-veins. "What can be," he says, "this mysterious connection between tessellation and hardness?" Mr. Thistleton Dyer, the Director of Kew Gardens to whom I communicated this observation, writes to me: "There must be something important behind a character like this, and, no doubt, when we discover it, it will be a key to other things." The tessellated leaves must be much stronger than those only striated, and it may be suggested that in the necessity for greater strength will probably be found the clue to the mystery.

Coming to the description of the species cultivated in temperate Europe, Mr. Mitford remarks on the uncertain state of the nomenclature, but says that, in the absence of flowers and fruit of some species, this confusion is not to be wondered at. "Plants are named and sent out by nursery gardeners according to their own sweet fancy, and sometimes, though this may be an ill-natured suspicion, according to the state of their stock. On writing to various nursery gardeners for five different bamboos, in each case he received *Arundinaria Simoni*: and he gives other instances of ignorance or unscrupulousness. And—

"Even at Kew *Phyllostachys bambusoides* was for years represented by a magnificent plant of *P. viridi-glaucescens*. Indeed *Phyllostachys bambusoides* presented itself to me in so many shapes that I began to look upon it as the Mrs. Harris of Bamboos, and became as sceptical as to its existence as Betsy Prig. At last, in 1894, the true plant was received at Kew from Hong-Kong, and by the kindness of the director I have been furnished with a specimen of it."

Even since the early part of 1894, when, as mentioned above, his articles appeared in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. Mr. Bean has modified the views he then took as to the identity of certain species. The Kew plants have now been (by him?)

compared with those of other collections, and with the dried specimens in the herbarium; and the result of these investigations has been a revision of the nomenclature of the hardy Bamboos, which, endorsed as it is, by the high authority of Kew, may, Mr. Mitford hopes, be considered final so far as the species in cultivation at the time he wrote are concerned. Several of the species have, for the reasons given in each case, been renamed by Mr. Mitford. In Chapter VI, which occupies 126 pages of the 218 contained in the text of the book, detailed descriptions are given—though not in the concise and systematic form which would be adopted in a strictly botanical work—of 44 species in outdoor cultivation, of which 35 are natives of China and Japan, 5 of the Himalaya, only 1 of North America—the only United States species—, and three are of uncertain origin. *Arundinaria Hookeriana*, described by Munro, a handsome, tall, tufted bamboo, which Mr. Gamble says ought to be cultivated, and should thrive in places in Europe which are sheltered from frost, and which is growing in the Kew Arboretum, is not treated of by Mr. Mitford, but receives merely incidental mention as being one of a group of four species (the others being *A. falcata*, *A. Khasidna*, and *A. intermedia*—all of which, seeing the great altitudes at which they are found in the Himalaya, ought to be tied in England) in which the flower-bearing and leaf-bearing culms are distinct. These flower and seed every year, and, dying down under the snows of winter, throw up new shoots from the stools in the succeeding spring. If *A. Hookeriana* be added to the list, the number of hardy species will be 45.

Though this part of the book is chiefly of interest to the botanist and the cultivator, there is much matter in it which will be found very interesting by any reader who is fond of Nature, and who likes to read the observations made by expert naturalists. Mr. Mitford has closely watched the growth and development of plants of the species he cultivates, and studied their likings and habits; and his study has resulted in the determination of the true characters of the two types of sheath and blade that occur in the bamboos, and not, so far as Sir Joseph Hooker knows, in any other tribe of grasses—see an earlier passage in this article.

“The Bamboo Garden” is adorned with some very artistic and beautiful drawings, which show the characteristics of the branching foliage of some of the more remarkable species, and Mr. Mitford says of them:—

“One attraction at any rate I may claim for my book, in the admirable drawings so kindly furnished by Mr. Alfred Parsons, whose life-long devotion to the portraiture of plant life found a new scope in the flora and landscape of Japan, of which his transcripts by pen and pencil have charmed the reading and the artist world of England and America.”

The drawing which shows the tessellated and striated characters of the venation of the leaves of bamboos, referred to above, is the only illustration of a botanical nature; but, as Mr. Mitford modestly begins by saying, the book has no scientific pretensions.

In Chapter VII, "FUTURE POSSIBILITIES," Mr. Mitford says:—

"There is nothing finite in science—nothing finite in the arts and crafts which are her handmaids. Certainly nothing in gardening; for year by year, almost day by day, new treasures are discovered, or old ones reveal new secrets; more especially in the matter of hardihood do we meet with surprise. For how many lustres was the *Aucuba* cribbed, cabined, and confined as a tender plant in green houses, until some kindly but audacious hand set it free? And now it is to be found in every London square, smut-begrimed and filthy, but glorifying and rejoicing in its filth. And so it has been with many plants once marked with a capital G in every catalogue, but now thriving gaily in a climate to which they have accustomed themselves without difficulty. Not five years ago one of the most famous of our gardeners, looking at my newly-imported starveling bamboos, said with the sneering grunt of the unbeliever: "They'll all die." The laugh is on my side now, for the rickety babies have grown into stalwart young giants, full of lusty life, with the joy of many days ahead of them. And the best of it is, that the great and unexpected success which has attended the acclimatisation of those bamboos which we already possess is but a herald of further triumphs. For as yet we have only touched the fringe of what we hope to achieve in the decoration of our wilderness gardens with the grace of these Royal Grasses.

"When we consider that in Asia and South America alike there are bamboos, known hitherto only from the dried specimens in herbaria, growing at incredible altitudes—that among the Andes, for instance, there is one species, *Chusquea aristata*, which has been found at an elevation equal to the height of Mount Blanc,—we must believe, nay, we know that there is many a Sleeping-Beauty only waiting till some lover shall carry her off from her mountain fastness, to awake under the faint but kindly rays of an English sun."

After referring to the possibilities to result from the continued exploration of the Himalaya, and other ranges of mountains in India southward to Ceylon, by the Forest and Botanical Departments, in a passage already quoted in this article, Mr. Mitford says:—

"The exploration of the Andes is a less hopeful matter. They are rich in species with tessellated leaves, growing at heights of from 4,000 to 15,000 feet above the sea level, and assuredly they should be laid under contribution. The great difficulty will be, that, in the absence of great botanical establishments, such as those of India, the burthen must more or less fall upon private shoulders.

"Africa is, so far as at present known, a less promising field for the collection of hardy bamboos; but it must be borne in mind that the chief authority to which to look is still General Munro's monograph which appeared in 1866, when the dark continent was still a mysterious fable-land." . . . "A short time ago I believed that we had already exhausted the resources of China and Japan. But since then we know that one species, certainly, *Aurundinaria nitida*, and probably two others, *A. anceps*, and *A. nobilis*, must be referred to that source. Both the Chinese and Japanese are excellent gardeners and cultivators, trained by heredity in the art of improving and adopting wild plants to the needs of their civilisation. From time immemorial they have been engaged in ransacking their native forests and mountains for the enrichment of their pleasure grounds, and it seemed to me very unlikely that such sharp

eyes should have passed by any species of conspicuous merit in a genus(?) which in their view is the type of all that is most graceful and most poetical in garden form. Moreover, they are essentially a practical people, to whom the commercial and utilitarian value of the bamboo calls aloud with the chink of dollars. Our European collectors have for many years had free access to their gardens, and have thus had before them living catalogues of all the daintiest and loveliest species, with the result shown by the enumeration which I have given in the preceding pages. For these reasons I was inclined to think that from these gardens we had not much more to hope for. This has already proved to be wrong. The flora of China especially is one of the richest in the world; our botanists are only now beginning to examine it by the light of Western Science, and it is dangerous, therefore, to hazard any very definite opinion in regard to its capabilities. One of our greatest botanists writes to me:—"The Flora of North-Western China is essentially Himalayan, with a profusion of distinct rhododendrons; why not, then, of hardy Bamboos?"

Mr. Mitford seems to have hopes of finding even more new species among those actually in cultivation in Great Britain, in addition to the three which appear last in his list. He says that a perfect craze for hardy bamboos has sprung up, which gives hope that none will in future escape notice. The infection is spreading, and it cannot fail to give a great impetus to collecting; and he has drawn up a list of those species not hitherto introduced which appear to be the most likely to succeed in this country, and to which the hunters of orchids and other rare plants might, in passing, profitably turn their attention. This list is, professedly, a very sanguine one; "but a trial, at any rate, will do no harm, even though some species should be sentenced to death, others to imprisonment in the temperate house; while every plant flourishing in freedom will be a fresh joy added to our gardens,—in every sense a survival of the fittest."

The list is compiled from Munro, with additions of names furnished by Sir Joseph Hooker—Mr. Gamble's new Indian species, apparently; but it certainly seems too hopefully long—46 species altogether. Of these 24 are from Asia, including 6 from Ceylon and Java, which islands are almost equatorial in latitude; and one, *Bambusa Griffithiana*, Munro, has been only once found, in the extreme North of Burma, and is given in the list solely because of its tessellated leaves; and it is branded as probably not hardy because it was found associated with numerous tropical plants. *Bambusa nutans*, Wallich, is in the list, though it is not stated to have tessellated leaves. Mr. Gamble says it is a moderate-sized, graceful bamboo, a native of the Lower Himalaya from the Jumna to Assam and Eastern Bengal, doubtfully wild west of Nepál, but very common in villages and along roads and canals in the Dehra Dún. In Sikkim it grows up to 5,000 feet only. It is extremely difficult of separation from *B. Tulda*, which is probably the most commonly cultivated species in the plains of Lower Bengal and Assam; and as it

grows from 20 to 40 feet high, it seems to the present writer—who has known the species as growing in the Dehra Dún at altitudes of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet—very improbable that, even if it survived importation, it could, in a temperate clime, throw up representative culms. Mr. Mitford gives its native habitats as Nepál, Silhet, Khasia, Assam and Sikkim, at 5 to 7,000 feet above the sea; but even these are comparatively low levels, and the district of Silhet is down in the Gangetic plain. Only 16 or 17 of the Asiatic species recommended for experimenting with in the British Isles are said to have tessellated leaves: nothing about that qualification is said as to the others. One species belonging to South Africa is in the list, and two from the Mascaren Islands; and 19 are given as South American, 14 of which are tessellated. One of these, by the way, is said to grow in Mexico as well as in South America.

Mr. Mitford, in giving this list as a "future possibility," expects forgiveness for once more dwelling upon tessellation of the veins of the leaf as some evidence of hardihood, as he calls it—would not hardiness be a better word, there being just a suspicion that the hardihood belongs to him and not to the bamboos?—But for this evidence he claims "no more value than is afforded by the simple fact that no bamboo without this character has proved thoroughly hardy in this country. There are, no doubt, tropical bamboos with tessellated venation which we could not grow, and therefore the test is an incomplete one. But, when we find it combined with a natural habitat of great altitude, subject to the influences of frost and snow, in plants surrounded by a non-tropical and alpine vegetation, we have such good warranty for the hardihood of the species that we may with faith attempt to acclimatise it here." It is not clear what we are to attempt to acclimatise—whether the tessellated venation, the test, or the species; but the combination of tessellated venation with great altitude and alpine surroundings surely does not exist in the case of many of the plants given in the list of possibilities.

Mr. Mitford's last chapter, entitled "*Apologia pro Bambusis meis*," is a long one, beginning with a defence of his hobby against some folk who object to the planting of bamboos in English pleasure grounds on the ground that such manifestly exotic plants give a foreign and unhome-like appearance to them; that they are out of place, fantastic, and what not besides; but there he leaves his bamboos and goes off into a rhapsody in praise of Nature, with recollections of early travels in Asia Minor, of the Troad and Mount Ida, and visions of the Garden of Eden, where he says there were no flower-beds (were there any bamboos?), but where Adam and Eve, "before sin and carpet bedding had been invented wandered hand in

hand, happy and contented" (even without bamboos) "with the mere sense of life and beauty and love, surrounded by the bountiful profusion of Nature, and soothed by the rushing music of sweet waters." It would seem that the statement in the Book of Genesis, that Adam was put into the Garden of Eden to work—"to dress it and to keep it"—is incorrect, and that, after the creation of Eve at least, he was a mere idler. Then follows a recollection of a spot far away on an island of the Malay Archipelago,—“a lovely vision of a crystal clear pool, fed by the glistening jewels of an overhanging cascade, sheltered from the heat of noon by a network of Palms and Bamboos, and strange vegetation draped with giant climbers.” “The air is heavy with the scent of spices; orchids and mysteriously shaped flowers peep out as surprises amid the giant foliage.” “Here again is the gardening of the gods—no formal beds, no torturing and trimming of *Altenantheras*, no setting out of geometrical patterns with house-leeks. And yet what beauty of form! what incomparable harmony of colours!—a memory the light of which the changes and chances of thirty years have not been able to extinguish.” The whole chapter is well worth reading, as a vindication of the attempt to reproduce the beauty of Nature in our gardens, and a condemnation of “the so-called architectural school of gardening;” but, as it is not bamboos, a few more extracts only will here be given.

“He who would lay out for himself a paradise—I use the word in old Parkinson’s sense—cannot do better, having the needful leisure, than set out to drink in wisdom in Japan.* Not in the Japanese gardens, for, as we shall see presently, nowhere is the gardeners’ work more out of tune than in that country of paradoxes; but on the mountain side, in the dim recesses of the forest, by the banks of many a torrent, there the great silent teacher has mapped out for our instruction plans and devices which are the living reputation of the heresies of stone masonry. There are spots among the Hakoné Mountains, not to mention many other places, of which the study of a lifetime could hardly exhaust the lessons. One reason which makes Japan such a rich field for observation is that, perhaps, in no other country will you find so many types of vegetation within so small an area. The sombre gloom of the *Cryptomerias*, the stiff and stately Firs, Pine trees twisted and gnarled into every conceivable shapes, flowering trees and shrubs in countless varieties, combined with the feathering grace of the Bamboo, and all arranged as if the function of each plant were, not only itself to look its very best, but also to enhance and set off the beauty of its neighbours—present a series of pictures difficult to realise. Fancy a great glen all besnowed with the tender bloom of Cherries and Peaches and Magnolias in spring, or blazing with the flames of Maples to warm the chill October, and in its depths a great water-fall leaping from rock to rock for some hundreds of feet! Here and there the soft brown thatch of some peasant’s cottage, or the quaint caves of a Buddhist temple, jut out from the hill-side, while far down below you see the emerald green patches of paddyfield, with great white cranes stalking about in solemn state. In such a glen you may sit hour after hour, feasting your eyes in wonder, and learning how to get the fullest value out of your treasures at

* Mr. Mitford was once second Secretary to the British Legation in Japan, and is the author of *Tales of Old Japan*.

home. Few if any of the plants which you are admiring are too tender to be grown in England, and the fair landscape before you furnishes the key to their successful adaptation.

"The Japanese are true lovers of scenery; no people have a keener feeling for a beautiful landscape; to them a moon-rising over Mount Fuji is a poem, and their pilgrimages to see the almonds in blossom, or the glories of the Autumn tints, are almost proverbial—and yet, strange to say, in their gardens they seem to take a delight in setting at defiance every one of those canons which Nature has laid down so unmistakably for those who will be at the pains to read them. The Japanese garden is a mere toy that might be the appanage of a doll's house. Everything is in miniature."

Dwarf forests, imitation mountains; everything spick and span, intensely artificial; the average Japanese garden is a mere whimsical toy, "the relic of an art imported from China, and stereotyped on the willow-pattern plate." May not the secret of what seems to Mr. Mitford merely unaccountably bad taste be—that, having the beautiful scenery and vegetation he describes everywhere not far off, and also knowing that he cannot successfully imitate it, the Jap prefers the contrasts which his ingenuity produces so well? It seems a case of '*quot homines, tot sententiæ*,' and Mr. Mitford might be more tolerant. There is room enough on the earth for both him and the Japanese nation. He had better not provoke them, or they may start a crusade against the English style of landscape gardening. They are an aggressive nation. Japanese botanists even are coming to the front, and quite lately have given a lesson to their European teachers. At a meeting of the Linnean Society, in London, on June 17th, 1897, Dr. D. H. Scott, F. R. S., exhibited original preparations by Professor Ikeno and Dr. Hirase, of Tokio, Japan, illustrating a great discovery regarding the process of reproduction in two very different looking plants, Gymnospermous Phanerogams, namely, *Ginkgo biloba* (formerly *Salisburia adiantifolia*—the so-called Maiden-hair tree) and *Oycas revoluta*. The nature of the discovery is too technical for transcription in the *Calcutta Review*; but it may be said to amount to this that fertilisation takes place in these two plants in the same manner as in Ferns. The English botanists, in conclave assembled, had to admit that the facts shown on the slides exhibited admitted of no other interpretation than that given by their Japanese fellow-workers.

Mr. Mitford looks upon gardening as one of the fine arts, and, rightly understood, not one of the least difficult. The painter or sculptor produces his effects at once, but the gardener has to consider not what his work is now, but what it will grow into ten, twenty, fifty years hence. If he has a background ready-made to his hand, he is lucky, but if he has to make it he has to do so with trees which are mostly far slower of growth than the more immediately effective plants which it is their office to set off. He has to balance questions of soil,

light, moisture. All this involves not only the poetic sense, but also great and patiently acquired knowledge. And, "if the background be unfitting all the work is thrown away. Colour, form, light and shade, all have to be studied in the composition of one of these living pictures which the gardener paints with living materials."

Mr. Mitford concludes his apology, and his book, with the following passage :—

"So far as our present knowledge goes, with the single exception of Fortune's Chamaerops, the hardy bamboos are the only plants which help us to give, in certain appropriate places, some faint idea of the mysterious vegetation of warm climates. Outlanders it must be confessed that they are, with the impress of their foreign origin stamped on every feature, differing in that from many an impostor, too often undetected, that raises its bragging head with as much effrontery as if it could trace an English pedigree back beyond the Crusades. The impostor is admitted without a word ; but give place to the more honest and charming outlander, and you are a Goth, a destroyer of the English landscape when, turning an alley, you bring the purist to some secluded spot framing a picture which he cannot understand, and in his superiority will not admire, but which to you brings back something like a subtle fragrance of the dim far-away."

An appendix to the book consists of a note on Japanese Nomenclature of Bamboos, which will be of great use to travelers and residents in Japan, as well as to collectors and the nursery gardeners who are now importing bamboos in large quantities. The Japanese names, which are given in Roman characters, number nearly thirty, besides synonyms, and opposite these are given the corresponding botanical names, also with synonyms. In time Mr. Mitford says, when more consignments have been received from Japan, it will be easy to identify all the Japanese names with their European (scientific?) equivalents. The difficulty at present is that the Japanese labels are lost, or destroyed as valueless by European nurserymen, who, of course, are unable to decipher them ; so they send the plants out under improvised and often inappropriate names, unless they have the aid of a skilled botanist.

C. W. HOPE.

ART. III.—INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH.

IT is, perhaps, no more than natural that the prevailing unrest in India should have imparted a new stimulus to the perennial controversy regarding the comparative happiness of the people of the country under native rule in the past and under British rule at the present day. Yet it is more than questionable whether the controversy is not one which, from the very nature of the case, is foredoomed to futility.

“Amidst a Babel of contending opinions as to the success or non-success of British administration in India, when a large number of disputants maintain that progress in that country has been phenomenal, while others declare that England is ruining India, body and soul, it will be well for a few moments to turn from the war of words and clash of conflicting arguments to the solid standpoint of historic truth; and to attempt to gather from unimpeachable ancient records how the matter stands, for I am convinced that in the minds of the majority there is much misty ignorance regarding the true condition of India before the advent of the British, so that opinions are often formed upon bases quite unsound. The case stands broadly thus: Many Hindús are convinced that their country was better governed by their own rulers than it is now, and some people in this country think the same thing. Well, if that be the case, Her Majesty's Government ought to learn the truth. It would lead to better government in the future, and if it is not the case, the Hindús ought to learn the truth. It would lead to their greater contentment in the future; and contentment means happiness. So that, for the benefit of both sides, investigation can, I think, only lead to good results. But at the outset the enquiry must be conducted on purely historical lines, since it is on those lines alone that we can proceed with safety. *We want the actual facts; nothing else is of any value.*” Such are the opening sentences of a highly interesting paper which was read recently before the East India Association in London by Mr. Robert Sewell, of the Madras Civil Service, and which, though it bears the title, “India before the English,” is really occupied with the question to which we refer.

Now, it is precisely because nothing “but the actual facts” is of any value that, as it seems to us, labour spent in endeavouring to arrive at an answer to this question, is labour spent in the pursuit of an *ignis fatuus*. For not only is the evidence furnished by the ancient records cited by Mr. Sewell in his paper hopelessly inadequate for its determination, but the facts to which alone it relates are not the essential facts. As far

as the question at issue is concerned, they are valuable only as indications of what, on a series of assumptions most of which are, to say the least, highly fallible, we might, with more or less reason, expect the essential facts to be. While, in other words, the question of the happiness of the people is one of feelings, and not of objective facts, it is with objective facts alone that these records are occupied : and the same may be said of nearly all the evidence that is available regarding the condition of society in India in ancient times.

It is true that, on the physical side, the relation between objective facts of a certain order and the feelings of those affected by them is approximately the same for the great majority of ordinarily constituted human beings. But it is not mainly, or even largely, from facts of this order that the daily lives of the mass of mankind take their colour ; and with such highly complex sets of facts as make up the customary conditions of the lives of peoples and individuals the case is altogether different. It may be possible for a man to form an approximately accurate conception of what would be the effect on his feelings if he were suddenly subjected to some such set of facts, differing widely, but in a definite way, from those to which he was accustomed, or from any of which he had experience ; though even here the risk of error would be much greater than most persons would be apt to think. It would be more difficult for him to form a conception of the way in which his feelings would be affected by the same set of facts if they constituted the condition of life in which he had been born and bred ; and it would be still more difficult for him to form a conception of the way in which the feelings of his distant ancestors would have been affected by them. Yet, before we can be in a position to answer the question discussed in Mr. Sewell's paper, we must not only have a far more complete knowledge than we actually possess of the highly complicated sets of facts which constituted the conditions of life in India centuries and tens of centuries ago, but we must also be able to form a distinct conception of the way in which those conditions, differing widely though they must necessarily have done from any of which we have any experience, affected the feelings of races differing no less widely from ourselves in habits of life and modes of thought and feeling.

How often, on comparing two periods in our own lives that contrast sharply in respect of conditions of great moment—conditions which, to the majority of mankind, might seem sufficient to make all the difference between happiness and misery—and that differ materially in no other respect which would be likely to strike the attention of the superficial observer, do we not find it extremely difficult, or even impossible, to determine

which was, on the whole, the happier period. How often, again, on making such a comparison, do we not find the scale turned—and turned in a direction opposite to that to which a superficial observer would expect it to incline—by some subtle difference which even the most intimate of companions could not hope to detect ; which, it may be, eludes even our own mental grasp. And, if it is thus difficult for us to compare the effect, on our own feelings, of two sets of conditions both of which we have actually experienced, how much more difficult must it not be for us to compare the effects, on the feelings of an alien people, of two widely different sets of conditions with neither of which we are familiar ?

The difficulty of the task, moreover, is enormously increased by the fact that there are a number of fallacies which, in instituting such a comparison, it is hardly possible for human nature to escape. One of these is the tendency to judge of the effect of the conditions compared on the feelings of those subjected to them by the criterion of what we imagine would be their effect on ourselves. We may endeavour honestly enough to put ourselves in the place of those whose feelings are in question, and, after making due allowance for what we conceive to be the differences between our mental, moral and physical constitutions and theirs, to imagine how we should be affected. But it is certain that, where these persons differ from ourselves as widely as does the average native of India, even at the present day, to say nothing of him of the remote part, the conceptions attainable by such a process, however carefully and with however much insight it may be performed, must differ very widely from the reality, and that the resulting judgment is extremely likely to be altogether erroneous.

Seeing that in many respects we have, beyond doubt, materially modified the conditions of life in India, especially in the larger towns, in the direction of our own ideal of what is conducive to well-being, it is not to be wondered at that, so far as our judgment is influenced by the bias to which we are referring, we should conclude that the people of the country must be far happier now than they were even in the palmiest days of Hindú rule. Yet the chances, it may be suspected, are greatly against our judgment on the point being correct.

A forcible illustration of our liability to error from the cause under consideration is furnished by the case of sanitary reform. To the cultured Englishman, it seems scarcely conceivable that the people of India should not greatly prefer their towns regularly swept and garnished, and protected from cholera by a filtered water-supply, from small-pox by vaccination, and from general foulness, with the limitless possibilities of disease implied in it, by carefully devised sani-

tary regulations. But the cultured Englishman forgets, or realises but dimly, that the point of view from which he regards the matter differs from that from which nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand natives of India, regard it in several respects of the utmost importance.

To begin with, the cultured Englishman is thoroughly convinced that sanitation is actually in a high degree conducive to health. Consequently, if the state, in this respect, of the town that is swept, garnished, and the rest should be better afterwards than it was before, he unhesitatingly attributes the change to the process. If, on the contrary, its state should happen to be worse, he is convinced that the change is due to some independent cause which has more than neutralised the results of sanitation, and, in default of sanitation, would have produced even more disastrous results. The average native of India, on the other hand, is profoundly sceptical, or absolutely incredulous, of the benefits of sanitation after Western methods, and in many cases probably believes it to be positively harmful. If the health of the town to which it is applied should be better afterwards than it was before, he attributes the result to the will of Providence, or to anything but sanitation; while, if it is worse than before, he is likely enough to attribute the change either directly to sanitation, or to the divine wrath provoked by it. But even if the people of India were as fully convinced as the cultured Englishman is of the efficacy of sanitation, and if, further, they attached as much importance to health and to the death-rate, the fact still remains that the cost of sanitation weighs upon them so much more heavily than upon him, that there is no guarantee that they would concur in his opinion of its desirability.

When we speak of the cost of sanitation, we refer, it will be understood, not to the mere pecuniary cost, though that presses upon the mass of the people of India with a severity which Englishmen can hardly realise, but of the harassment, the oppression, the opportunities of extortion, the restraints upon liberty, the interference with immemorial custom, and the violation of domestic privacy, which it entails, disamenities which all affect the average Native of India to a vastly greater extent than the average Englishman. We have little doubt, in fact, that, even if the effects of sanitation in the shape of improved public health were twice as marked as they are, and if the people of the country were thoroughly convinced of the fact, the great majority of them would unhesitatingly prefer to be relieved of the taxes, the rules, and the inspection and its incidents, which it involves, and to take their chance in peace.

Another source of error is the general tendency to exaggerate the effect of differences in the ordinary physical conditions

of life and to ignore the accommodation which habit brings about. We say the ordinary physical conditions of life, for we are not referring to such exceptional conditions as cause acute physical pain, or such extreme discomfort as no amount of habit can be expected sensibly to mitigate, but to the conditions that make up the daily routine of life of the mass of every community—their customary fare, raiment, housing, and the like. To the wealthy Englishman, accustomed to a dinner of many courses of rich and delicate viands cunningly prepared, and washed down, it may be, with costly wines, it would, no doubt, be a scarcely tolerable hardship to be suddenly put upon a regimen of boiled rice and pulse, with a pinch of salt ; and he is naturally apt to think that something at least of this hardship must be felt by the Indian peasant, whose fare is of the latter kind from one month's end to another. But this is a complete delusion ; and, though there is, doubtless, a considerable difference in the total amount of satisfaction derived by the wealthy Englishman on the one hand, and the Indian peasant on the other, from their respective diets, it is quite insignificant compared with what either of them would be apt to imagine, and still more insignificant as a factor in the happiness of either of them. Yet the difference between the conditions concerned in these two cases is far greater than any difference that can reasonably be supposed to exist between the daily fare of the average Indian peasant of to-day and that of his forerunner under, say, the Cholas.

Apart, however, from the consideration with which we have just been dealing—that the facts on which Mr. Sewell relies are not the essential facts, and that any attempt to infer the essential facts from them is, from the nature of the case, beset by difficulties that are practically insuperable—, these facts are so scanty and so isolated that it is impossible, in the absence of other evidence, which is not forthcoming, to arrive at any definite conclusion as to their true bearing on the question, even of the physical conditions of the life of the people in Hindu times.

Mr. Sewell's paper is occupied, for the most part, with an endeavour to establish two points. One of these is that there was never, as he alleges, Hindus generally, as well as many Englishmen, imagine, a "golden age" when all India was governed by a single native-born Emperor ; and the other is that taxation, and especially the land-tax, was much heavier, and its incidence much more oppressive, in Hindu times, than it is under British rule.

Regarding the former point, he tells us the Hindu "dreams of there having been once a time when all India from the Hindú Kush to Ceylon lay under the imperial sway of magnificent monarchs of supreme power and dignity, the like

of whom the world has never seen, under whose benignant and enlightened government flourished all the Arts and all the Sciences in unparalleled splendour. He dreams that under this government the people were more free and less heavily taxed, that the taxes were less burdensome, less irritating, as there was little or no oppression of the people by corrupt officials. As to the sciences, I once heard one of these dreamers, a young Brahman who spoke excellent English, declare in a lecture that the knowledge of medicine arose in Ancient India, as well as the knowledge of every other science ; and that such was the power of diagnosis possessed by the ancient Hindu doctors—that, whereas one of our poor ignorant latter-day surgeons is compelled to examine the person of a patient to ascertain the cause of his illness, in old India the leech could at once come to a right conclusion merely by touching the end of a stick pushed through a hole in a curtain by a person hidden behind it. There was similar excellence, he averred, in all branches of study."

In proof of the widespread character of the belief thus described, he quotes a paper by a Hindu writer, and a "territorial Maharajah," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, who says : "In the halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty, this land of Bharata enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful reign, the Court of Ayodhya, on the one hand, and the Court of Hastinapura, on the other hand, having acted as centres of political supremacy, bending the vassal sovereigns by the common tie of patriotism towards their mother land, and loyalty towards their sovereign recognised as such, by divine right. From the glimpses of political history we can gather on the authority of our ancient epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—we learn that every political act of great moment was, before its execution, proposed by the sovereign head and carried by the unanimous voice of the vassals. . . . The war of the Mahabharata was another momentous act of politics that was brought about by the united voice of the suzerain sovereigns and vassals who were scattered about the length and breadth of this vast and glorious Empire consisting of 56 Aryan" (*sic*) "principalities. Still, later, when we come to Somnath, we find the Hindú sovereigns assembled under a common banner, in the cause of their religion and country to oppose Mohamed (*sic*) of Ghazni." From which supposed facts, Mr. Sewell adds, he argues, that there must have been one grand Imperial Constitution over all the land, with the chiefs forming the responsible Council of the sovereign.

Now, all this, Mr. Sewell says, appears to him to be untrue ; and he goes on to give reasons for concluding that the early Hindu period, before the coming of Alexander, was a period of constant wars of dynasties and races throughout the length

and breadth of the country ; that, when Alexander seized the Punjab, he found no lord paramount, even over Upper India, but many separate kings ; that, after that, a larger portion of Upper India lay under foreign dominion for six centuries ; that even Asoka was by no means a universal Chakravarti, as is shown by his own edicts, in which he mentions the names of contemporary Sovereigns ; that this state of things was certainly not changed by the subsequent Scythian invasions ; and that neither the Andhras, nor the Guptas, nor any other of the dynasties of the period acquired or claimed universal sovereignty.

As to Vikramaditya, again, and the legends of which he is the centre, he says : " No such name exists in all the history of India, except as that of certain kings of a local dynasty, the Western Chalukyas in the country about Bombay, and the Western Dekkan between the years A. D. 670 and 1126 ; and I have personally very little doubt that it is really round the first of that name that all the romantic web of stories and legends and fancies has been weaved. Though possessing quite a limited area of territory he was in his way a considerable monarch. His father, Satyāśraya, or Pulikesi II., had acquired much land by conquest of neighbouring kings and nations, and Vikramaditya consolidated his power by defeating a confederacy of three chiefs of the Pallavas, afterwards seizing their capital, Kanchi, or Conjeveram, south of Madras. His grants and inscriptions are full of poetic boasting of his grand achievements. Sankāchāryār, the great reformer of the Saiva faith appears to have lived in his reign. The king was a patron of Literature and the Arts ; he invited Brahmans to visit him from various parts of India and loaded them with rich presents. Their return has been to immortalise him in song and story. Legends are told of his miraculous birth and marvellous actions. He has become a sort of Indian Haroun-al-Raschid, so that the 19th century Hindú claims for him universal supremacy over all India, and antedates him more than seven hundred years, in order that it may appear that he was the founder of the Vikrama era." And he goes on to argue, with Professor Kielhorn, that the Vikrama era was not associated with the name of Vikramaditya till many centuries after his time ; that it was previously styled the Vikrama era simply, and that, in all probability, it originally meant merely the " current era."

Though this is, perhaps, not very conclusive, there is very little room for doubting the correctness of Mr. Sewell's view of the main fact, that there was never a period before the advent of British rule when India was not divided into many independent States. But, assuming this to be the truth, it is not very clear why he should lay so much stress on it. As far as actual

facts are concerned, we know of only one ground on which it can be reasonably contended that the mass of the people of India would be likely to be happier under a single sovereign than under a number of independent sovereigns ; and that is that the risk of war would be much smaller in the former case, since it could occur only as the result of invasion from without, or of rebellion. But without a far more accurate knowledge than we at present possess of the way in which war was commonly carried on in early Hindu times, it is impossible to form any opinion as to the extent to which its stress was felt by the mass of the people, or as to the light in which it was regarded by those actually engaged in it, or immediately concerned in its failure or success.

It may, no doubt, be argued with justice that, if there is a widespread conviction among the people of India that their ancestors were happier under Hindú rule in the remote past than they themselves are under British rule, and if, again, this conviction is merely, or largely, a corollary of the belief that, at the time to which it refers, the country was under the rule of a single sovereign, then it might, from a political point of view, be a matter of considerable importance to convince the people that the latter belief is baseless. But, even granting the belief in the greater happiness of the people under Hindu rule to be widespread, is there any good ground for thinking that it rests upon any such foundation as that in question ? It is extremely doubtful, to begin with, whether the Hindus at all generally believe that, as a matter of fact, Vikramaditya, or any other of the mighty Hindu sovereigns of tradition really ruled over the whole of what we understand by India. But it is still more doubtful whether those who do entertain this belief attribute the happiness enjoyed by the subjects of such sovereigns to the fact that they had no rivals and no compeers. The tendency among them, as far as our experience goes, is to find an explanation of it in the beneficence of disposition of these rulers ; in their wisdom and justice, and in the vigour and vigilance of their internal administration. It may be quite true that, as Mr. Sewell says, Vikramaditya is a sort of Hindu Haroun-al-Raschid ; but who ever imagined that the amenities of life in Baghdad, real or imaginary, under that Khalifa, had anything to do with the extent of his dominions, which, by the way, was not very great ?

The evidence brought forward by Mr. Sewell to show that taxation was heavier under Hindu rule is less irrelevant ; but it is hopelessly inconclusive, even as regards the material well-being of the people.

As to the land-tax, we learn, from an inscription in the Tanjore temple, that under the kings of the Chola dynasty, it

was paid in kind, being assessed in the lump upon the whole village, which was carefully measured. Comparing this system with that which obtains under British rule, Mr. Sewell remarks : " The several farmers were absolutely at the mercy of the village elders as to their individual shares. When disputes arose it would seem very easy, with such an elaborate system of measurement, to confuse the minds of the village Councillors, however anxious they may have been to decide aright, or to entirely befog the intellect of the aggrieved cultivator. Weights and measures varied in every village, and even if the amount of *marakkāls* of grain payable were at last definitely settled, the intriguing village official could take refuge in the difference between the *adavallan marakkāl* and the local measure of the same name. Now, for all this what have we substituted ? We deal, as I have said, direct with each cultivator, the village accountant being merely the record-keeper. Each ryot has his paper showing precisely how much he has individually to pay the State in cash as land revenue. And in place of this supremely confusing system of measurement we have one which would describe the village in question thus : Total so many acres, assessment so many rupees ; deduct waste and communal land so many acres, assessment so much ; taxable remainder so many acres, so much assessment. Finally our acre is a fixed measure, and the village officers are furnished with necessary chains, so that no mistake is possible." And he asks which system conduces most to the welfare and contentment of the Indian farmer ?

Then a long statement by a Hindu Dewan of one of the Native States of our own day is quoted to show the oppression and annoyance incidental to the system of payment in kind.

As to the comparative amount of the land revenue under British and under Hindu rule, respectively, Mr. Sewell brings forward evidence to show that, alike under the Cholas, under the Hindu dynasties in the Northern Circars, and under the Vijayanagar Hindu kings, it was at least half the gross produce, and he argues that these instances are probably typical of what was the practice in other parts of India, whereas under British rule the State takes a sum representing from one-fourth to one-sixth only.

As to other forms of taxation, Mr. Sewell cites a translation by Dr. Hultzsch of a royal grant of a Chola sovereign of the 11th century A. D., in which occurs the following list of taxes : " Tax for the village watchman ; tax for the village accountant ; tax for unripe fruit in month of Karttigar ; tax on looms ; tax on oil-mills ; tax on trade ; tax on goldsmiths ; tax on animals ; tax on tanks ; tax on water courses ; tolls ; tax on weights ; fines for selling rotten drugs " (not a

tax); "tax on shops; tax on salt; tax on elephant stalls; tax on horse-stables," besides four taxes the names of which are untranslatable, while another list of the same place and period mentions, in addition to the above, one *ndli* of rice for every platter; one *ndli* of rice on each day sacred to the worship of ancestors; a tax on weddings; a tax on washermen's stones; a tax on potters; rent for use of water and collection of leaves; brokerage, and a tax on neatherds, and yet another list mentions a police tax; a tax on Jains; a tax for the support of the Prime Minister, and fees in the nature of stamp duty on documents.

Evidence is further given, referring to different periods, from the time of Megasthenes to the close of the last century, to show that this state of things was not exceptional; and there is no reason to suppose that it was. It may probably be fairly assumed that all over India, under the Hindus, the system of taxation was very much what it was in Southern India under the Cholas. Admitting this, however, the facts will not support the conclusion Mr. Sewell draws from them, or, indeed, any definite conclusion, as to the happiness of the people, or even as to their material prosperity, in Hindu, as compared with British, times.

A writer in the *Calcutta Statesman*, reviewing the paper, has very justly pointed out that the weak point in Mr. Sewell's case is that "what we want to know, before we can estimate, however imperfectly, the bearing of the facts on the question of the happiness of the people, is not how much was taken from the subject in the shape of taxation, but how much was left to him to eat, drink, and clothe himself withal," but that "not only does Mr. Sewell give us absolutely no direct evidence on this point, but, even admitting his view of the comparative weight of taxation to be correct, the inference he draws, that the agriculturist was correspondingly worse off, or worse off at all, even economically, under Hindu than he is under British rule, is very far from being inevitable."

And, as regards the latter argument, he goes on to remark, with reference to the land-tax in particular, that it is quite possible that "the one-half of the produce which was all—assuming it to have been all—that was left him under Hindu rule, was actually more than the three-fourths, or five-sixths of the produce which the British Government leaves, or imagines that it leaves, him. What is more, not only is it quite possible, but it is highly probable, that the proportion of the one-half of the produce of which the agriculturist succeeded in retaining the benefit under Hindú rule, was a good deal larger than that of the three-fourths, or five-sixths, of the produce of which he succeeds in retaining the benefit under British rule. There are

strong reasons, indeed, for thinking that, in the case of some three-fourths of the agriculturists, at the lowest computation, the money-lender, who is practically the product of British rule, absorbs all the difference, or even more than the difference, between the quota of the produce which the cultivator had to surrender to the State under Native rule, and that which he has to surrender to the British Government. It is pretty clear, indeed, that Mr. Sewell attempts to prove too much. Whatever the agriculturist paid to the State under Hindú rule, and whatever he does not pay to it under British rule, it is notorious that under British rule he succeeds, in three cases out of four, in retaining for the benefit of himself and his family no more, and often less, than suffices to maintain him and them in moderate physical health."

But there are other considerations which make it quite impossible for us to estimate the comparative effect of the land-tax under Hindu and under British rule on the economic condition of the people. Not only is it possible that, owing to the greater fertility of the soil, the one-half of the produce left to the cultivator by the Hindu ruler was actually more than the larger proportion which the British Government leaves him; but it is highly probable that, owing to the super-abundance of uncultivated land even in the more flourishing parts of the country, the average holding of the cultivator was considerably larger than it is at present. There would appear, indeed, to have been no reason, in those days, when a large proportion of the country was forest, why, if he found his share of the produce of his holding insufficient to maintain himself and his family in comfort, and if, as must necessarily have been the case, it left him anything at all beyond the mere wages of labour, the cultivator should not have brought more land under the plough. It is difficult, in fact, to believe that, under the conditions we are describing, rack-renting can have been at all generally possible; while, even if it was possible, it must in most cases have been so obviously detrimental to the best interests of the State as to make it highly improbable.

As to the form in which the land-revenue was levied in Hindu times, it is undeniable that the system of payment in kind holds out more opportunity for extortion on the part of the officials employed in estimating and measuring the crops, and to abuse in a variety of ways, than that of payment in cash, though it also holds out more opportunity of evasion on the part of the cultivator. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that it is in a large measure the system of payment in cash under British rule that has reduced the cultivator to his present state of dependence on the money-lender. It may also be added—though this can hardly be said to

affect the question at issue—that the state of trade and of the currency in Hindu times probably made the adoption of the system of cash payments impracticable. It is further to be remembered that, under the system of payment in kind, the amount to be paid adjusts itself automatically to the cultivator's means of paying it. If the season is a good one, the amount, but not the weight of the land-revenue, is proportionately increased, while, in the opposite case, it is proportionately diminished, without the necessity of his applying for a remission.

As to the plan of assessing each village in a lump sum and leaving it to the village elders to apportion the shares of the individual cultivators, no doubt it placed in the hands of the village elders a power which they would not always exercise impartially. One result of the system probably was that the rates paid by the cultivators for land of a particular quantity varied in the inverse ratio of their caste rank, or respectability, a distinction which survives to our own day in many parts of the country—Behar, for example—where the Zemindari system prevails. This, however, unjust and invidious as it may appear to us, is not regarded as a hardship by the people of the country even now, and was much less likely to be so regarded under Hindu rule. Mr. Sewell's remarks about the liability of the aggrieved cultivator in case of dispute, to be befogged by the complicated system of measurement that prevailed, and by the differences in the weights and measures current in different villages, or between the official and the village standard, it seems to imply an unduly mean estimate of the average intelligence of the Indian cultivator. Our experience of him is that, at the present day, at all events, he is almost preternaturally sharp in all matters of the kind, and we see no reason for thinking that he was less so a thousand, or, for the matter of that, two thousand years ago.

But even if the tendency of the system was, on the whole, to favour the aggrandisement of the strong at the expense of the weak, it had its compensations even for the latter, not the least of them being that it saved them from direct contact with the officers of the State.

As regards miscellaneous taxes, under Hindu rule, it can hardly be doubted, in the face of the evidence brought forward by Mr. Sewell, that their multitude was very great, and though, as the writer already quoted points out, some allowance must be made for the fact that a large number—indeed the greater portion—of them are really one tax, *viz.*, a tax on trades and professions, “which, in the lists given, is multiplied as many times as there are separate trades and professions to be taxed,” it seems practically certain that the total amount of taxation other than land-revenue, or rather the proportion it bore to the incomes taxed, was much greater under Hindu than it is

under British rule. But, as was remarked in the case of the land-revenue, there is not an iota of evidence as to what the incomes, whether of the cultivators or other classes, of those days were ; and, in the absence of such evidence, it is manifestly impossible to arrive at any conclusion either as to the comparative weight of taxation, or as to the comparative well-being of the mass of the people, after discharging all their liabilities to the State, in the two periods.

Our object so far has been to show that discussion of the question of the comparative happiness of the people of India under Hindu and under British rule, respectively, must almost necessarily be futile for any practical purpose, owing to the inadequacy of the data available for its investigation. But there are other reasons why, equally from the nature of the case, such discussion is altogether unlikely to be productive of the beneficial consequences which Mr. Sewell anticipates from it. Whether the common native belief that the country was better governed under the Hindus be true, or not, it is equally important, he argues, that the truth should be known. For in the one case the result would be that we should govern the country better in the future ; while in the other case it would be that the natives would be more contented in the future. But, as Mr. H. Beveridge, in an interesting letter on Mr. Sewell's paper published in the *Asiatic Quarterly*, has pointed out, it is improbable that anything we could do would convince the Natives that their belief on the subject is wrong : and this is improbable not merely because, as he remarks, the belief rests on an impalpable sentiment on which arguments and facts have no effect, but because, in any case, what we should have to prove in order to convince them, would be that the country was worse governed under its ancient rulers, not according to our ideal, but according to theirs ; and so different are these ideals that, in not a few cases, the facts to which Englishmen would confidently appeal to prove their case would be appealed to no less confidently by the average native to prove his. The whole argument, in fact, assumes an agreement, in all essential particulars at least, between Natives and Englishmen as to what good government is ; and no such agreement exists.

Englishmen, it may be added, are no more likely to be convinced that India was better governed, than Natives are likely to be convinced that it was worse governed, under Hindu than it is under British rule. More than this, even if Englishmen were convinced that the people were happier under Hindu than they are under British rule, it is equally unlikely that their policy would be materially modified by the fact. Who that knows them can doubt that they would still continue to govern the country in accordance with their own convictions as to what *ought* to conduce to the happiness of the people ?

ART. IV.—A BENGALI ROBIN HOOD.

TIMES of misrule and anarchy have in all ages and countries favoured the growth and rise of gang-robbery. On such occasions, some bold adventurer, taking advantage of the disordered state of the country-side, has, it has almost always been found, set himself up as a robber-chief, and, gathering to his standard the roving blades, swashbucklers and landless loons of the country, started forward on his career of rapine and robbery. Such a state of things arose in many of the districts of Bengal after the subversion, by the East India Company's government under Lord Clive, of the Mahomedan dynasty of Murshidabad, as the result of the crowning victory of Plassy.

As a consequence of the establishment of British rule in Bengal, the fauzdari establishments and the summary laws of the Mahomedan government for the suppression of crime were abolished, and, in their stead, the Government of the East India Company established police-stations, presided over by *darogas*, at different places throughout the province for the keeping of the peace. But the insufficiently manned and still more inefficient police of those days were unable to repress the lawlessness which was rife all over the province in this its transition state; and the district of Bengal became, in consequence, one vast hotbed of dacoity and other serious crime. Bands of robbers and *dakaites* sprang into existence by the score; and the result was that insecurity reigned rampant over the land to such an extent that men were obliged to bury all their valuables and surplus cash under the ground. The well-to-do classes of the people used to retain in their service professional club-men, called *paiks*, to keep watch and ward over their houses and defend them from violence in case of attack. Even Calcutta, which had then recently been made the capital of the province, was not free from the depredations of these marauders. Towards the close of the last century, dacoity was of every-day occurrence in and about this city. The Rev. J. Long writes: "In 1780, in a Calcutta paper it is stated, a few nights ago four armed men entered the house of a Moorman near Chowringhee and carried off his daughter." Even down to the beginning of the present century, so great was the fear of robbery and murder in Calcutta, especially in the native quarter of the city, that no native would venture out, after dusk, with very good clothes on him. If this was the state of affairs in the metropolis, it can very well be imagined how much more insecure were men's lives

and property in the mofussil. In those troublous days the district of Nadiya in Bengal became the head-quarters of a band of dacoits under the leadership of a robber-chief, by name Biswanath Babu, who set up, like the injured Earl of Huntingdon in Peacock's Maid Marian, in the combined character of patriotic outlaw and generous reiver, and carried on his depredations on the wealthy and the commercial public generally. It is my intention to give in these pages short sketch of his life and thrilling adventures by field and a flood.

Biswanath was born in Gádrábháthchála, an obscure village eight miles to the east of Chápdá Thána, in the district of Nadiya. He belonged to the *Tetule Bagdi* caste and was an agriculturist by birth, his forefathers having earned their livelihood by tillage only. In early life, his attention was attracted towards Vaishnavism, the dominant cult of Nadiya. He accordingly joined a secret fraternity of Vaishnava men and women who had devoted themselves to the cultivation of the mystic tenets of their sect; most of whom belonged to his own and the neighbouring villages, and with whom he used to meet secretly. At these clandestine meetings, Biswanath was brought into contact with a female member of the fraternity, who was the daughter of Panchkawri Sirdar, a well-known clubman of those days, and contracted a liking for her company which, course of time, ripened into intimacy. One day, discovering Biswanath and his daughter in a compromising situation, Panchkawri seized the former and, confining him in a room, left the house, to consult with his sister's son, Megháí Sirdar, who was employed as a *paik* in a neighbouring indigo factory, about the punishment to be meted out to the lover.

In her father's absence, Panchkawrie's daughter set her lover free. Having thus escaped from the clutches of his enemies, Biswanath became very careful. One day a rumour spread in the village that Panchkawrie's daughter had been bitten by a snake in the house of her cousin Megháí and had died of the bite. On hearing of this occurrence, Biswanath at once concluded that the story of her death from snakebite was an invention, and that there must have been foul play at that bottom of it. Regarding himself as the cause of his unfortunate mistress's untimely death, he vowed to be avenged on her father and cousin for the cold-blooded murder. This unhappy incident proved, indeed, to be a turning-point in Biswanath's life. All his cherished hopes were blasted, and all his resolves were changed by the sad end of his mistress.

In those olden times, when the good old rule, the simple plan,

"That they should take who have the power
And they should keep who can,"

was the order of the day, gang-robbery was recognised as a profession, and a man's influence was gauged by the number of clubmen he kept in his service. Even influential zemindars of those days used to retain in their employment bands of lawless swash-bucklers and filibusters, not only for the purpose of defending their lives and properties from professional robbers, but also as an agency for wreaking their vengeance on other foes as well. Thus it came to pass that Biswanath also set up as a robber-chief and maintained under him a gang of dacoits to aid him in the pursuit of his profession. Of his associates the chief were Naldubo, Krishna Sirdar and Sanyási. Some say that Naldubo, as his name implied, could remain under water for a long time. Another variant of this tradition runs to the effect that he used to dive under the waters of the big tank at Dignagar and remain there with a blackened earthen pot on his head. Whenever any woman with ornaments on her person came to have her dip in the tank, he used to seize her, like a crocodile, from underneath the waters and kill her by dragging her to the bottom. It is said that on one occasion an up-country wrestler went to the tank, assuming the guise of a woman, and, when attacked by Naldubo, caught hold of him and thrusting him into an iron cage, had him suspended from the branches of a big silk-cotton tree on its bank. Others say that Naldubo was one of Biswanath's *kālir paiks*, or principal sword-players, and that he was very expert in the use of the *sātnalā*, which was thus a formidable engine of destruction in his hands. According to them Pitambar and Baidyanath were Biswanath's principal adherents during the earlier stages of his career. It is said that both of them had separate gangs of men under them, and that they used to combine with that of Biswanath when a robbery on an extensive scale was contemplated.

Having entered on his career as a robber-chief, Biswanath began to look out for an opportunity to wreak vengeance on Panchkawri Sirdar. He long bided his time in vain; for the latter, supported as he was by his influential European employers at the factory, defied him and his accomplices. At last an opportunity arrived of which Biswanath promptly availed himself. On one occasion Panchkawri Sirdar went to Krishnagar with some money remitted by his employers, leaving Meghai alone to mount guard at the factory. Finding Meghai alone, Biswanath took him by surprise one day and had him conveyed to Asannagar. Tradition says that Biswanath executed Meghai Sirdar in broad daylight, by way of sacrifice to the goddess Kālī, amidst the tom-tomming of a hundred kettle-drums, and Pitambar is said to have acted as executioner on the occasion. Hearing the tom-tomming on his way back from Krish-

nagar, Panchkawri Sirdar suspected that something untoward must have happened in his absence. His suspicions were confirmed when he found Meghai's decapitated head dangling from the branch of a banyan tree. Seeing this gruesome relic of his nephew, he solemnly vowed to exterminate Biswanath and his accomplices; and, when the authorities of the Nadiya district resolved on bringing them to justice, it was Panchkawri Sirdar who afforded them the greatest assistance in tracking their whereabouts.

It has been shown above that Biswanath, *alias* Bishe Dákáit, began his career at a time when the greatest anarchy and lawlessness prevailed in Bengal. The rich fattened themselves on the plunder of the poor, and the poor were ground exceeding small under the tyranny of the wealthy. The consequence was that the poorer classes, goaded as they were past all human endurance, banded themselves together to rob the wealthier people among the community of their ill-gotten gains and to avenge on them the wrongs they had so long meekly borne at their hands. Thus the whole province came to be infested by numerous gangs of dacoits, who not only exercised their vocation by broad daylight, but committed the greatest atrocities on their victims. But, with Bishe Dákáit's appearance in the field, not only was the proverbial inhumanity of the robbers checked, but the wealthier classes also found in him a formidable antagonist to cope with. Biswanath was not only a generous outlaw, but also a patriotic reiver. He showed the greatest kindness towards poor women, children, and other helpless persons. At the same time, like his famous prototype, Robin Hood of England, he made it the ruling principle of his life to take from the rich and give to the poor. By his fearlessness and his active sympathy with the poor and the oppressed, he succeeded in investing even the hated profession of a highwayman with an intense charm and living interest even in the eyes of the peaceful classes of the community. His genuine pluck, his magnanimity and his sympathy with the poor and the helpless earned for him such a name and fame throughout the length and breadth of the land as seldom fall to the lot even of the virtuous. His doughty deeds of valour and his many acts of high-minded generosity have made his name a household word in Bengal, and are still enshrined in many a song and ballad.

It is said that "there is honour even among thieves," and Biswanath was not wanting in this respect. He would not attack an unwary or unprepared householder all of a sudden. On the contrary, before he committed dakaiti in a person's house, he used to send an anonymous letter to the Goodman

thereof, saying that he would be his guest on a certain night. If the householder was wise enough to give him a hearty reception and comply with his demand, he would go away quietly with the blackmail he had levied, without touching even a single hair of his head. But woe betide the man who refused to satisfy his demand. On one occasion, it is said, Biswanath assumed the garb of a respectably-dressed gentleman and went to the house of a Bráhmaṇ of Tíribeni, who, though well-known for his learning, was yet notorious for his miserly habits, and asked him what persons were entitled to the hoarded gold of a miser. Not knowing who the questioner was, the Bráhmaṇ was foolish enough to cite, by way of reply to his query, a verse from the Shastras to the effect that even a thief was entitled to share in a miser's wealth. Taking him at his word and throwing off his disguise, Biswanath told him point blank that, if this was so, he was, as a matter of right, entitled to a share in his hoarded treasures. Completely taken by surprise, the miserly Bráhmaṇ was obliged to send Biswanath away with a sop of five thousand rupees.

After the manner of all robbers, Biswanath was a faithful votary of the goddess Káli. Before starting on a plundering expedition, he and his associates would worship the goddess, who is the tutelary deity of all thieves, robbers and persons of that ilk, and sacrifice a goat to her. As *dákáíts* are very superstitious, they would then look out for omens betokening the success or otherwise of their expedition. If the omens were favourable, they at once started on their journey. If otherwise, they put off their intended attack. In the same way, on returning from a successful foray, they would again worship the goddess and offer her sacrifices.

On the night of the proposed attack, Biswanath and his accomplices used to paint their faces with soot, white paint and vermilion, in order not only to disguise themselves, but also to give themselves a ferocious aspect. Then they started for the scene of their intended attack, with lighted torches and in military array. On arriving at their destination they used to yell out at the top of their voices. These blood-curdling shouts were known as the "*dákáiter-kulkuli*," or "the dacoits' announcement of arrival." His mode of attack was based on what might be called a scientific principle. Before delivering the actual attack, he used, first of all, to establish *ghátis*, or posts, all round the house, over which the *kálar páiks*, or the most skilful swordsmen of the gang, were told off to mount guard. Then the other dacoits were told off to the discharge of their respective duties. After this the *kálar páiks* indulged in sword-play, which they called *dhált pák khelá*, yelling loudly all the time. Thereafter they attacked the house,

If the captain of the banditti saw any danger of being captured, or if any one of the gang got wounded or killed, he used to bawl out "*hunshidár, máchhi poreche*," ("take care, a fly has got caught"), which, in the robbers' slang, means "beware, there is danger ahead." If he saw actual danger, he used to shout out, "*gurdo*," or "*haul up the net*," which, in the secret jargon of the dacoits, means "stop plundering and run away." On this note of alarm being given by the robber-chief, all the members of the gang stopped plundering and cleared out from the scene of action as fast as their heels could carry them.

Like all dacoits of those days, Biswanath was very skilful in the use of stilts, which were called *rampds* in robbers' slang. These *rampds* had bracket-like appendages attached at top and bottom, on which the rider placed his feet, holding the tops of both the stilts to balance himself with. If it was necessary to travel very fast, the feet used to be placed on the topmost brackets, or footholds. If an easy-going pace was required, the dacoits made use of the nethermost footholds. Thus mounted, it is said, Biswanath could outstrip the fastest horsemen and cover very long distances in an incredibly short space of time. It is said that *rampds* are in use even at the present day in those parts of the country which are inhabited by the criminal tribes. I have heard on reliable authority that the Ahirs of the Gopalgunge Sub-division of this district (Saran), who are notorious *budmashes*, with the aid of these stilt-like *lathis*, go on dark nights to villages on the other side of the river Gunduck in the adjoining district of Champaran, commit dacoity there and return home in the course of the same night—thereby avoiding exciting the slightest suspicion of their absence from home in the minds of those who are accountable to the Government for their good conduct.

Of his many marvellous exploits, his plunder of the *gadi* (banking office), at Kalna, of the Nandis of Baidyapur is a memorable one. Biswanath used to celebrate the Dugá Pujá festival with great *éclat* every year. On this occasion he would distribute, with a lavish hand, rice and clothes to the poor and the needy, and wind up the festival with a grand gathering on the Bijayá Dasami day, or the last day of the Pujá, when, in accordance with a time-honored custom obtaining among the marauding fraternity, all the gangs of dacoits under him met together, to exchange friendly greetings and hold high carnival. This annual ceremony entailed a heavy draught upon his purse. In order to enable him to meet the outlay, Biswanath used to be specially active in the pursuit of his profession just before the commencement of the Pujás. On one occasion, his plundering forays

not having been so successful as in other years, his funds fell short and he was in great need of the wherewithal to defray the expenses of the Pujá. About that time he received information that the Nandi Babus of Baidyapur had remitted Rs. 10,000 in cash to their banking office at Kalna, and he immediately resolved avail himself of this golden opportunity to recoup his straitened finances. Taking a boat, he at once started for Kalna, accompanied by only four of his associates, armed with swords and pistols. On his arrival there, he at once had the *daroga* of the Kalna Thana arrested by his accomplice, Megháí, and brought to the boat. There he made him sign an *ikrarnama* purporting to be a confession that he was in collusion with the dacoits who had robbed the *gadi*. Thereafter Biswanath and his accomplices landed and made straight for the Nandi Babu's banking shop, and, helping themselves to the treasure, carried it off. With this money, Biswanath celebrated the Durgá Pujá that year with great *éclat* in the jungles of Bráhmaitolá, near Nákáshipará.

The news of this daring act of robbery spread far and wide through the land and struck terror into the hearts of the millionaires of the district. Many of the latter, therefore, now secretly began to concert measures for bringing about Biswanath's downfall, and did all that lay in their power to assist the authorities in tracking him. The Company's Government at the same time strengthened the police force of the district and adopted special measures to bring the band to justice. Somewhat dismayed at this activity on the part of the authorities, he remained in hiding for a time in his old haunts in the jungles of Swarupgunge.

The event, however, which immediately led to Biswanath's downfall was a daring robbery which he committed in the factory of Mr. Samuel Fady, an influential indigo-planter of the district of Nadiya. A large remittance of money, which was intended for making advances to the raiyats who cultivated indigo for Mr. Fady's concern, had been received in the factory from Calcutta. When Biswanath got information of the arrival of the treasure, he immediately determined to plunder it. This resolve on his part was, indeed, a very daring one, considering that the factory-premises were situated very close to the bungalow of Mr. Elliot, the then Magistrate of Nadiya. It was on the night of the *Diwáli* festival that, with his gang, Biswanath made his attack upon the factory. Having killed the Telugu sepoy who had arrived from Calcutta with the treasure in his charge and who was, on the night of the robbery, mounting sentry over the treasury of the factory, the dakaits looted the money. Hearing the noise made by the robbers, Mrs. Fady, for fear of her life, it is said, put

a blackened earthen pot on her head and hid herself immersed to the chin in the waters of a tank in the compound of the factory premises. With his usual foresight, Biswanath had seen that, during the attack, Mrs. Fady might be roughly handled, or otherwise molested, by his associates, if the latter were left to themselves; and when the looting was going on, and some of the robbers were pinioning Mr. Fady, he displayed the innate chivalry of his nature and issued strict injunctions to his followers neither to intrude upon Mrs. Fady's private chamber nor to molest her in any way.

Leaving Meghai in charge of Mr. Fady, Biswanath, accompanied by the other members of his gang, left the factory with the looted treasure, and went straight to his rendezvous in the jungles near Bagdevi Canal. Subsequently Meghai arrived there, with Mr. Fady bound hand and foot and lying on a stretcher. On his arrival, the whole gang of dakaits demanded that Mr. Fady should be killed. But Biswanath espoused the Saheb's cause and urged that his life should be spared; for, said he, if they imbrued their hands in his blood, the murder would create a great sensation throughout the province and still further stir up the hostility of the authorities against them. He, therefore, proposed to his followers that the Saheb should be led blind-folded out of the rendezvous and set free on the highway leading to his factory. Thereupon a hot discussion followed as to this expediency, or otherwise, of killing Mr. Fady. While this discussion was going on, Meghai unsheathed his sword and aimed a blow at the Saheb. As the sword was about to fall on his head, Biswanath rushed to the spot, parried the blow with a *lathi* which was lying close by, and cut the bands with which he was pinioned. But, before he was allowed to depart, Mr. Fady was made to take a solemn oath neither to betray the dacoits nor to move the authorities against them. Mr. Fady having taken the required oath, Meghai insisted that the Saheb should be first of all blind-folded and then allowed to leave the rendezvous. But Biswanath overrode his associate's objection and allowed Mr. Fady to go without the required covering on his eyes. Mr. Fady, however, not considering the promise extorted from him binding on his conscience, at once went to the house of the Magistrate, Mr. Elliot, and informed him of the night's occurrence.

As Biswanath and his gang had proved more than a match for the existing police forces of the district, the Magistrate sent a report to the Government of their inability to cope with the marauders and applied for further reinforcements in the shape of a company of sepoy from the militia. The Company's Government complied with Mr. Elliot's request, and deputed

Mr. C. Blacquiere, then one of the Magistrates of Calcutta, to Nadiya, as a Joint Magistrate for the suppression of dacoity in that district. Mr. Blacquiere brought with him a party of European blue-jackets to assist him in the capture of the dacoits. The Magistrate also enlisted the services of a body of able-bodied *Upargostis*. These *Upargostis*, being the descendants of ancient Pathan jagirdars of the country, lived in a village named Harinadi, four miles to the west of Santipur, and were well-known in that neighbourhood for their physical strength and prowess. Being natives of Santipur, they were familiar with the ins and outs of Biswanath's homes and haunts, and regularly watched and reported to the authorities the movements of the dacoit-chief and his gang.

One day, one of the *Upargostis* brought information that Biswanath with his gang intended to commit a robbery in a village close to Krishnagar. The next evening Mr. Blacquiere went to the village in question, with a posse of sepoy and *Upargostis*, and lay in ambush there. In the dead of the night, Biswanath and his men appeared and attacked the house of a villager. The *kalir paiks* were indulging in sword-play before the house, and the rest of the dacoits had just entered and begun looting it, when Mr. Blacquiere, with his sepoy, arrived on the scene and closely invested the house with a cordon of his men. He then ordered the rest of the sepoy to capture the leaders of the gang alive. They pleaded their inability to do so, and asked for permission to shoot them down. Thereupon Mr. Blacquiere ordered the European sailors to capture the dacoits, and, arming themselves with *lathis*, the sailors disarmed them of their swords. Many of the dacoits were then captured by the sepoy; but Biswanath, with his principal followers, escaped.

This smart capture of dacoits had the effect of restoring peace to the district for a time. But as long as Biswanath and his principal companions remained at large, dacoity could not be completely put down. So the services of the *Upargostis* were retained; and they were ordered to continue their search for the absconding dacoits. At last, their exertions were crowned with success. One day, one of the *Upargostis* discovered that the dacoit chief, with his followers, had taken refuge in the jungle near the village of Kulia, and he at once communicated this information to Messrs Elliot, Blacquiere and Fady, who marched with a posse of sepoy and sailors to the jungle and closely surrounded it.

They found Biswanath and his companions cooking their meals under the shade of a tree. As Biswanath was quite unarmed at the time, his companion Meghai offered him a sword and called upon him to play the man and defend him-

self. But he refused this proffer of arms, and, telling his companions to defend themselves as best as they could, boldly stepped forward and taunted Mr. Fady with the breach of the promise he had so solemnly made not to betray them, and further said that he had all along committed robbery not for his own behoof, but for the purpose of doing good to others. He was, he boldly said, prepared for any punishment they might choose to inflict on him. Saying this, he surrendered himself to the Magistrate, Mr. Elliot.

Tradition says that Meghai committed suicide in order to elude capture and capital punishment. Sir W. W. Hunter, who has given a very brief account of Biswanath's life and adventures in the "*Statistical Account of Bengal*," says that "the European gentlemen rushed in and arrested Biswanath and his companions." Thereafter Biswanath and a dozen of his accomplices were tried and sentenced to pay the extreme penalty of the law. They were hanged on a scaffold on the river-side, says Sir W. W. Hunter, and their corpses were then placed in an iron cage and suspended from a banyan tree, said to be still existing, as a warning to all wrong-doers. After Biswanath's death, his mother is said to have applied to the authorities for her deceased son's skeleton; but her prayer was refused. She said that, should she get back his bones, she would restore him to life again. How deep was the regret felt by the middle-class people of those times for the sad end of Biswanath, may be judged from scraps of folk-songs which may be still heard from the lips of people even at the present day, and which breathe sentiments of the deepest sorrow for his loss.

As has already been said, the essential features of Biswanath's character were his sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, his magnanimity, and, above all, his chivalrous respect for woman-kind. On one occasion, the story goes, Biswanath attacked the house of the Chakravartis of Dignagar with a view to committing dacoity therein. In the course of the attack, he found his follower, Baidyanath, attacking one of the ladies of the family and inflicting sword-wounds on her. By the light of the blazing torches, he recognised in the lady the playmate of his childhood, with whom he had passed many an hour of his infancy in idle play and prattle. Rushing forward, he thrust Baidyanath aside and rated him roundly for his cruelty. Then, ordering the looting to be stopped at once, he approached the lady, and, doing obeisance to her, craved her pardon for what had been done in his absence and without his orders. Saying this, he left the house without taking any of the property that had been looted.

His was the Robin Hood principle of taking from the rich

and giving to the poor. Whatever Biswanath earned by the pursuit of his profession, he lavished on the poor and the needy. It is said that he defrayed the entire marriage-expenses of many a portionless girl. He had many a poor Brahman boy invested with the sacred thread—at his own expense. He often assisted poor Brahmans with money to enable them to meet the expenses of the Durga Puja; and during that festival, he himself used to distribute rice and clothes to the poor and the needy with a prodigal hand. It will thus be seen that, though Biswanath was a robber by profession, he was far above the level of ordinary outlaws. A person who for years kept the whole of the district of Nadiya in a state of constant dread, who did not stoop to the meanness of robbing the poor, who plunder the rich only to give to the needy, is not to be classed with Kelly of Australian bush-ranging notoriety or, with the Chinese pirates. Already Biswanath's character has been invested with something of the halo of romance with which Harrison Ainsworth has invested the characters of such noted outlaws as Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard. Babu Srish Chandra Mazumdar, a young Bengali novelist of rising reputation, has made the Bengali outlaw's life and deeds by "field and flood" the theme of his highly-interesting and recently-published novel entitled *Biswanath*, to which, as also to Sir W. W. Hunter's brief account in the *Statistical Account of Nadiya District*, the present writer is indebted for much of the materials of this sketch.

The English outlaw seems to have been a semi-mythical personage who lived in the times of Richard I. and King John and haunted the forests of Sherwood and Barnsdale. Very little is known about his real life. But he is said to have been of a gallant and generous nature, ever genial, religious, respectful to women, with a certain gracious and noble dignity in his bearing. Like his English prototype, Biswanath, as we have seen, was also very generous towards the poor and needy and respectful towards the womenfolk. He was a faithful devotee of the goddess Kali, of a religious turn of mind, and always considerate to Brahmans and Vaishnabs. The English outlaw is said to have lived by poaching on the king's preserves and waged perpetual warfare on all proud bishops, abbots, and knights, helping himself to their superfluous wealth, and giving liberally to the poor and to all honest men in dressed circumstances. The Bengali outlaw also considered gorbellied knaves with long purses fair-game and committed his depredations on the rich only, giving away freely to the poor what he took from them. Robin Hood was unrivalled in the use of the bow and quarter-staff; but in some of the extant ballads he is represented as coming off the worse in

the combat with some stout fellow, whom he thereupon induces to join his company. Biswanath was very expert in the use of the sword and the *lathi*; but he came off second best in a friendly fencing match with Premchand Dom, a well-known club-man of those times, whom he afterwards induced to join his gang. The end of the English outlaw was an honourable one. He is said to have been treacherously bled to death by his kinswoman, the prioress, to whom he had gone for relief in his sickness. But Biswanath died an ignominious death, expiating his offences on the gallows.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

ART. V.—A GOLD STANDARD FOR INDIA.

"I hope and believe that the establishment of a gold standard will relieve the Government of India from the ever-growing cause of expenditure and troublesome fluctuations." (Sir D. Barbour in introducing the Currency Act of 1893. *The Times of India*, 30th June, 1893.)

IN setting forth a condemnation of the policy which aims at the establishment of a gold currency for India, two difficulties confront me. For one thing, I find no solid position to attack; for there never has been, nor will there ever be, any serious attempt to prove that the adoption of a gold standard for India would be advantageous to the country. For the other, I find it hard to steer clear of the many and wide issues involved and shape my course undisturbed to the goal I have in view. I will do my best, however, to avoid all but widely accepted economical axioms, and, with arguments based on these alone, I hope to show to demonstration that the adoption of a gold standard would be, except in one unimportant direction, entirely opposed to the interests of India.

On what did the belief in the virtues of a gold standard chiefly rest? Briefly it rested on the fallacy that silver had been for years falling in value, and that India was, thereby, burdened in the payment of her annual dues to England, and hence a change of standard was a necessity.

Now, it has been proved over and over again that silver had not fallen in value up to the date of the closing of the mints;* that its fall in price was due solely to the rise in the value of gold, and that it was this appreciation of gold which was so burdensome to India. I find that this view is now widely accepted by those who consider this question, and I will treat it as an economical axiom; the few who may still believe that silver had fallen in value, and that gold had not appreciated, need read no further.

Since, then, silver up to 1893 was stable in value, what in truth was the ever-growing cause of expenditure the growth of which Sir D. Barbour set himself to combat? It was the continued and steady rise in the value of gold which, measuring as that metal did the indebtedness of India to England, slowly but surely increased the weight of her annual burden. How, then, could the establishment of a gold standard "relieve the Government of India from the ever-growing cause of expenditure?" I know not; but how it could and must increase the cause of expenditure is manifest.

The belief, a belief as false and pernicious as it was wide-

* For one clear proof of this, see note at end of this article.

spread, that the adoption of a gold standard would prevent the increasing expenditure, originally led, in great measure, to the currency legislation. Yet it needs no argument to prove that, if India were to adopt a gold standard, and accept sovereigns in payment of fifteen-rupee dues, she would but increase the value of gold, thus taking a course diametrically opposed to that along which her true interests lie.

To make this perfectly clear, I will point out what the currency future of India will be if the legislation is not repealed. To do this, I will briefly review the salient points of currency history since 1873.

In 1873, Germany began to establish a gold standard; she began, therefore, to make considerable demands on the stock of gold in the world, with the natural result that gold commenced rising in value. Other countries followed suit, and, since supply, far from keeping pace with demand, rather fell off between 1873 and 1883, gold rose in value, and nearly every commodity, silver included, fell in its gold price; in 1893 gold had increased about 47 per cent. in purchasing power. Sauerbeck's Index numbers for gold are for 1873, 111; for 1893, 62.* In February, 1895, the Index number fell to 60, and there it remained for some time practically stationary, though a tendency to rise seems now to have set in. What course will gold take in the future? The average output of gold from 1852 to 1871 was £25,000,000, the production then decreased until it stood at about £20,000,000 in 1883; it then began again to rise, but did not reach the production of the former years of plenty till 1892. In 1896 the production was about £45,000,000† and the estimate of production for 1897 is considerably higher. For many years, then, demand surpassed supply, and gold rose in value and was eagerly sought after by the nations generally, some even hoarding it to a great extent. But now, owing to the discovery of new fields and to improved methods of extraction, supply tends to outrun demand, and the tide of the value of gold will probably ebb. That it would now ebb, but for the mistaken policy of silver standard countries adopting or attempting to adopt a gold standard, there is not the smallest doubt. India, therefore, a gold debtor country, might already see on the horizon, but for her insane desire for a gold standard, the dawn of better days with her gold burden gradually growing lighter. But the legislation which India has devised for herself steps in, and, by providing for the acceptance of a sovereign for every fifteen-rupee due, postpones indefinitely the relief which natural causes had provided. Could India have devised a currency scheme more hostile to her true interests?

* *Viz.*, £62 bought in 1893 what it took £111 to buy in 1873.

† From the *Statist* of 25th September, 1897.

I propose briefly to consider how so widespread a fallacy as that the establishment of a gold standard could cause the ever growing expenditure to cease has taken root. It has taken root in a fallacy which the ostrich is popularly supposed to share.

Under present currency conditions the annual payment due from England to India is measured by a certain number of sovereigns in England and of rupees in India. Let us suppose the number in the one case to be 20 million and in the other 320 million. These are the measures of indebtedness. India pays to England neither sovereigns nor rupees, she pays certain quantities of commodities which she has produced over and above her own requirements. Let us assume this produce to be one million bales of cotton. Now I wish to emphasise this fact, that, as long as the value of gold, the measure of indebtedness, and the value of the produce with which the debt is discharged, vary not, so long will the burden of the debt remain unchanged; the variation of silver in value would in no wise affect the burden.* The only two effective factors are the value of the creditor's measure of the debt, and the value of the debtor's produce with which the debt is discharged. The debtor's monetary measure of the value of the produce is, in this connection, of no account. If India made use of silver for the discharge of her debts, its value would be of importance; but since India, like any other country, can but discharge her debts with surplus produce, and since there is not only no surplus production of silver in India, but no production at all, we clearly must leave out silver altogether as a factor in the case; for India can never use silver to pay her debts, even if the creditor country desired silver in payment.

The position is quite simple; but it is, perhaps, worth a few more words to present it quite clearly. I here give three columns A, B and C. A gives the assumed present condition of the annual indebtedness as between India and England; B gives the conditions of the same on gold rising ten per cent., C on silver falling ten per cent., in value. Under B the actual burden (the bales of cotton), it is plain, is increased, under C it remains unchanged.†

Measure of dues
payable by India in

| | Sterling. | | Rupees. | | Commodities. |
|-------|------------|-----|-------------|-----|------------------|
| A ... | 20 million | ... | 320 million | ... | 1,000,000 bales. |
| B ... | 20 million | ... | 352 million | ... | 1,100,000 bales. |
| C ... | 20 million | ... | 352 million | ... | 1,000,000 bales. |

* I do not overlook the fact that great variations in the rupee would require adjustments of taxation, but this is beside the question.

† Inasmuch as India possesses large stores of silver, a fall in silver would affect *pro rata* her actual wealth; but it could never alter, by so much as one tola, the weight of the burden of her indebtedness to England.

Under the present monetary conditions, then, between England and India, when gold rises in value India *sees* the increase of her burden in the fall of the rupee in price, but it is not the fall of the rupee that is the burden, but the rise in gold which entails an increased export to meet it. Now, if India were to adopt a gold standard, the increased demand would increase the value of gold and the weight of India's burden ; but, inasmuch as the measure of the debt and the measure of its discharge would be the same, India would not *see* the increase in her burdens, and would, perhaps, be able to persuade herself that the increase was not there. I think, therefore, that we may recognise that there is a very close resemblance between the stratagem Sir D. Barbour employed to avoid the bugbear of increasing financial burdens, and the stratagem the ostrich proverbially adopts to avoid its enemies.

I may briefly sum up this portion of the argument by saying that a gold standard, far from relieving the Government of India from the ever-growing cause of expenditure, could but increase the burden to a serious extent ; for it would greatly augment the demand for gold in the world, and *pro rata* the value of gold and the weight of India's sterling debt.

Let us now return to Sir D. Barbour's profession of faith at the head of this article. "The establishment of a gold standard will relieve the Government of India from—troublesome fluctuations." This is perfectly true ; the country will have a heavier burden to meet, but exchange will no longer add its element of uncertainty to the accounts.

We have now reached the bed-rock of the argument. The Government of India, while fluctuations in exchange continue, are unable to budget satisfactorily year by year. This is absolutely the only argument which can be reasonably put forward in favour of this barbarous, retrogressive, and in many respects injurious, legislation. Are the Government content to renounce their so stable silver standard, to embark on an indefinitely large expenditure, to introduce a currency unfitted for the wants of the people, and seriously increase the burden of the sterling debt which weighs so heavily on the country, in order to enable the financial authorities to balance more nicely their income and expenditure beforehand ; I can hardly think it. In the first place would Government attain the end they have in view ? Would they, reckoning in sovereigns, be able to declare with certainty that their expenditure would be, say, 49½ and their income 50 million sterling. Would the assimilation of the standard with that of England prevent famine and loss of revenue ? Would it prevent frontier expeditions and increase of expenditure ? Would it prevent the numerous conditions of uncertainty which preclude all hope of a perfectly satisfactory forecast of the annual accounts ?

Only on the assumption that a gold standard would lighten the burdens of India, would remove all uncertainties of income and expenditure, and would eventually place the country on a sure financial footing with a currency suited to the country's needs could it be wise and politic to undergo the vast expenditure of procuring gold for the standard ; and on no possible assumption could it be wise to introduce gold by the method at present employed, a method which cannot fail, long ere it attains its object, to disastrously affect trade developments.

Let us always bear in mind that, in whatever manner Government may procure the needful gold, whether by direct purchase, or by loan, or by the slow, the hopelessly slow method employed, this gold must be paid for . We are apt to forget that the use of gold as a medium of exchange is an expensive luxury ; we are apt to overlook the fact that of all currencies a gold currency, on the score of expensiveness, is the worst ; that a paper currency would be the best, for it is the cheapest, and would be universally employed could it be made, like a full-value currency, self-regulating ; that the next best would be iron, or copper, or any cheap metal, were it not, even for poor people, too cumbersome for use ; and it is certain that we fail to understand that silver comes next, and, as being most perfectly adapted to a poor country, is far superior to gold, which is when not a necessity, the worst form of currency possible. Are we, then, to continue this ruinous policy, a policy which must entail an expenditure considerably exceeding that on the plague, famine and war of 1897, a policy which must temporarily derange our trading interests, in order that the task of balancing our annual accounts may be fulfilled with greater ease and certainty ? For, strange though it may seem, this is the true and final issue.

I do not think it can be reasonably argued, from the mercantile point of view, that ordinary variations of exchange are so grievous to trade that merchants would gladly bear their present and indefinite troubles in order to escape them. Should we have ever heard of the troubles of exchange had exchange never fallen below 1s. 8d ? I think not ; it was not the fluctuations, but the fall, in exchange which set every one agog. I do not think I could find in Calcutta or Bombay one merchant of position who would prefer to bear for a further indefinite period the present unsatisfactory monetary conditions in order to be freed some day from variations in exchange. If I am right in this view, then but the one issue remains, that all the evils which accompany the introduction of a gold standard will

* Government could, no doubt, exchange their rupee reserve of eight crores for a reserve of about five millions sterling, but I doubt if less than twenty-five millions sterling would be required to effectively create a gold standard.

be borne in order to eliminate one element of uncertainty in forecasting our annual income and expenditure.

If the adoption of a gold standard is a mistaken policy, and if the present no-policy cannot indefinitely continue, what road is left for us to take? A very simple answer is at hand; we must return to the natural conditions of open mints and a silver standard. We could not hesitate to do so did we understand the questions involved. Let us remember these three things: that a free and elastic currency is the life-blood of commerce; that closed mints must, in time, cause stagnation in trade; and let us above all clearly grasp the fact, that *no reasonable objection exists to our return to the normal condition*. I know it is urged and widely urged that, if the mints were opened, the rupee would fall to bullion point, to the price, that is, of about ten pence. If people would sometimes think for themselves, so great a fallacy could never have become so universal. What was the effect of closing the mints? It depressed silver about ten pence an ounce. What, therefore, would be the effect of opening them? The effect would be, there can be little doubt, to raise silver about ten pence an ounce, that is to say, 37*d.* equal to a rupee price of 1*s.* 2½*d.* We who have seen the rupee with closed mints at 1*s.* 0¼*d.*, should be content, I think, to return to normal condition with the rupee at over 1*s.* 2*d.*, knowing, as we ought to know, that, under the present conditions of the gold industry, *and with India no longer standing as a would-be buyer at the gates of the gold market*, the price of the rupee could never fall lower, and must before long slowly rise.

I should like here to bring to prominent notice two extraordinary fallacies which are widely held. (1) We know that the Sherman Act had no visibly permanent effect on the value of silver; yet we hold generally that the repeal of the Act, if the legislation had not preceded it, would have greatly depressed silver; indeed, dread of the repeal was a notable factor in deciding the Government to legislate. (2) We know that the Currency Act of 1893 had a great effect on the value of silver; yet we refuse generally to understand that the repeal of the legislation would raise silver. Are not these extraordinary contradictory opinions? In one case we have an Act which was inoperative, but we hold that the repeal of it would have serious consequences. In the other case we have an Act which had serious consequences, but we hold that its repeal would be inoperative. The Sherman Act is ineffective; but its repeal would be effective. The Barbour Act is effective; but its repeal would be ineffective. Does it not seem that those who approach the currency question leave common sense behind, and is it not self-evident that, if the mints were re-opened, silver would rise considerably, probably to 37*d.* an ounce?

Let me, in conclusion, place before my readers the two positions which the supporters of the legislation have held in defending it.

The first position in 1893 was this. Silver has been falling steadily in value for many years, and is still falling ; hence our income in rupees with difficulty meets our expenditure in gold, and we must, failing bimetallism, take some steps to remedy the trouble. The reason of the fall in the currency is obvious ; silver countries have been pouring their rubbish into the mints, and the currency has become redundant and has depreciated ; we must prevent a further fall, and we must get rid of our silver standard to prevent all recurrence of the trouble. Such was the first position, and in 1893 it seemed a strong one ; but it has been carried, at a considerable expenditure of paper and ink, by the overwhelming force of the argument that a full value currency like our silver currency is self-regulating and *cannot* become redundant, and that *in fact* the rupee had *not* depreciated. From this first position, then, the supporters of the legislation have been compelled to retreat, and now defend their policy by arguing that :—

(2) The evils of the variation in exchange are so troublesome, and the difficulties of financing the country, and of balancing the accounts under the changing price of the rupee are so great, that it is necessary at any cost to introduce a gold standard assimilating the Indian and English standard. Is this a strong position ? Opinions may differ ; to my mind it is hardly worth attacking. But at least let us clearly understand what the issues are. Either an enormously expensive gold currency, and an indefinite continuance of the present unsatisfactory conditions, or the troubles of a varying exchange, troubles such as they are which India bore for fifty years without a murmur.

I would ask two final questions. The increased value of gold was the cause of the rupee falling in price, and the cause of the increase of India's financial burdens. This being so, can it be wise to adopt a gold standard, and thus still further increase the value of gold and the weight of the burdens ? Secondly, invariability in value is the one pre-eminent virtue in a standard. Silver was ever, until the currency legislation was passed, pre-eminently stable ; is it wise to renounce so good a standard and adopt one which has proved itself to be, to say the least of it, most inferior to silver in stability ?

EDWARD FRERE MARRIOTT.

NOTE I.—The advantage of a gold standard is purely imaginary and rests on no logical basis. How little this question is understood in its economical bearings, even by a merchant versed in difficult monetary problems and applying himself ardently to their solution, is shown by the following extract from Mr. Sleight's writings in *The Bombay Gazette* :—" In the

past twenty-five years the country has been absorbing a metal which has continuously sunk in value and promises to sink still deeper, and this, too, in exchange for commodities sold against gold. Had the gold been received instead of the silver, how much richer and more prosperous would India have been to-day." That silver had been sinking in value for many years is, of course, a fallacy which most of us have discarded now; but the majority would accept the latter part of the sentence as a truism almost, although it is devoid of truth. Had India been a gold currency country, then the demand for gold must have *pro tanto* increased, and its value increased likewise; in other words the measure of her indebtedness would have been of higher value even than it is now, and her burden proportionately increased. For this increase in the burden of India's annual dues would be in no way balanced by the higher value of the greater stores of gold which she would possess. For these stores, by the hypothesis, would be required for the purposes of internal exchange, and could not be sold or in any way realised. And, although general opinion unhesitatingly sides with Mr. Sleight's conclusion, there can be no doubt whatever that India would have been considerably poorer to-day, and not more prosperous, had she adopted a gold standard twenty-five years ago.

NOTE 2.—The following proof of the generally unchanging value of silver and its non-depreciation for eleven years previous to the legislation will be of interest. The Indian prices were contributed by Mr. Fred. Atkinson to *The Pioneer*; the China prices are taken from figures given by Consul Jamieson of Shanghai in a Foreign Office Report, Miscellaneous Series No. 305. The Indian prices are compared, it is seen, with those of the year 1871, the China prices with the average of the prices of the five years, 1870-74 :—

| <i>Indian Prices.</i> | | <i>Chinese Prices.</i> | |
|-----------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| 1871 ... | 100 | 1870-74 ... | 100 |
| 1881-82... | 98.9 | | 96.1 |
| 1883 ... | 92.7 | | 99.4 |
| 1884 ... | 94.5 | | 92.4 |
| 1885 ... | 94.6 | | 92.0 |
| 1886 ... | 92.9 | | 100.1 |
| 1887 ... | 92.7 | | 95.5 |
| 1888 ... | 95.9 | | 97.2 |
| 1889 ... | 99.6 | | 96.8 |
| 1890 ... | 103.9 | | 100.4 |
| 1891 ... | 98.2 | | 94.5 |
| 1892 ... | 100.4 | | 96.9 |

The average level of the eleven years is according to the Indian Tables 96.8, according to the China Tables 96.5. The average level of silver is thus 3.2 per cent. above the Indian level of 1871, and 3.5 per cent. above the China level of 1870-74. We may, I think, safely conclude that each of these tables tells practically the exact facts as to the average value of silver during those years.

NOTE 3.—It is not unusual to defend the legislation by the argument that it is but a method of taxation, raising the value of the commodity by which the taxes are measured, and thus avoiding further direct taxation which it would be impolitic to levy. For one thing we are able, out of the mouth of Sir D. Barbour himself, to deny that the legislation was passed with this end in view; for Sir D. Barbour in "The Currency Problem from an Indian point of view," on pp. 19-20 thereof, declared that the great objection to the legislation was lest it should increase taxation, a danger which he was glad to say had been avoided. Secondly, were the view correct, would not legislation which diminishes the value of every big and little silver hoard in the country be a source of political danger far greater than any direct taxation which could be devised? If we are to fear danger from increased taxation surely we should fear legislation which has such a widespread and disastrous effect on the vast hoards of India, an effect which sooner or later will make itself known and felt throughout the country.

ART. VI.—ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

THE words used to express the two great Empires of the modern world are, obviously, inadequate. "England," for one who tests the language that he employs, means the country of a Teutonic race who came from the sandy flats at the mouth of the Elbe and settled in Britain; "Russia" being the name of the plain that lies between the Black Sea and the Ural Mountains. We use the words, now and here, in another and a much wider sense, in which "England" stands for a dominion stretching from Shetland to New Zealand, from Hong-Kong to Alaska, over nearly nine millions of square miles, and with an aggregate population amounting to a full fifth of the human race; while the area and number of inhabitants of the Russian Empire are somewhat less, but the latent capacities in no small degree superior. Such Powers can have but one out of two alternative destinies; either they must be antagonists, or they must move on parallel lines.

For many years, undoubtedly, the former was, by most Englishmen, believed in as the inexorable future; and the movements, the very aspirations, of the Muscovite people and their rulers were to be suspected, opposed, crushed; their commerce impeded; their very access to the sea cut off. The Russians had to pick up the glove; it can hardly be necessary to do more than remind the reader of the events of 1878, when England interposed to save Constantinople, and Russia retorted by the mission of General Stolieteff to Cabul. The nature of these proceedings was revealed, beyond all possibility of misapprehension, when Lord Beaconsfield made his "Peace with Honour" arrangement and Sher Ali was left to die in abdication at Mazar Sharif. Then came the scuffle at the "Brick-bridge," commonly known as the Panjdeh incident; when the wise restraint of the Amir and the pacific character of Alexander III. combined to extinguish what, for a moment, looked like a mine of explosive matter. We shall refer to some details presently.

The latest ostensible symptoms of the lingering jealousies of the two Powers was seen in the operations of the Turkestan officers in the Pamir and the march on Chitral, with all that has ensued. And now we hear of Russian officers directing the movements of the Mohmands and of a proposed combination of a concert against England, arranged by the would-be Bandmaster of Europe, William the Noisy, in which Russia is to play first fiddle. True, this policy is in opposition to the real interests of the German Emperor, even as it is to all his family

ties. His feelings towards his English mother must be worth something, although we do not hear much about them. But he is never weary of proclaiming his veneration for his grandfather, the Emperor William I., and the English sympathies of this old hero are well-known. It is possible that the feather-brained young despot may have thought of the alleged conspiracy, and may have even made hasty expression of his thought to some about him; it is at least equally likely that some other and more practical idea may drive it out of his head.

Certainly the entertaining of such a project by the Russian Government would not be difficult to imagine; and in such a project Russia might well calculate on the concurrence of the French. That great but impulsive people does not love our country, and is very ready to follow any Russian lead. But, be the mind of the Kaiser ever so full of Anglo-phobic turbulence, France will not join without that lead; hence our relations with Russia must evidently be of consummate moment and importance. If the British nation preserves its attitude of suspicion towards Russia, it will not matter very much whether Germany remains neutral or not; the adhesion of that empire to a league for attacking us is in the highest degree improbable; but if it could be carried into effect, one result would be to break up the present rather shaky *Triple*. The Italians would be no party to such proceedings, and we should almost certainly secure the support of Austro-Hungary, where we are popular and where the Emperor has purposes of his own in which we are less likely to thwart him than would be any other Power. Moreover, the South German States—already fretting under the predominance of the North—would probably refuse their adhesion; in which case Prussia would find herself isolated but for any temporary use that might be made of her by her perennially hostile neighbours to East and West.

But to leave speculation, let us see what lessons are to be derived from the facts of history. Perhaps we may find that we have no great reason to look down on the political morality of Russia, and that our fears of her hostility are not without justification in the past. Conscience, says Hamlet, doth make cowards of us all; and the consciences of English statesmen may well be uneasy when they think of some actions of their country in bygone years.

To go no further back than the Crimean War, a period within the memory of many persons not yet sunk in senility. At the end of the year 1852, Louis Napoleon, having exiled his opponents and terrorised Paris, had referred to the adult males of France, through the departmental prefects, and had announced that his proceedings were endorsed by a seven and

a half millions majority. On the 5th December he accordingly proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Napoleon III., and the Church of France chanted "*Domine salvum fac Imperatorem.*" It remained only to give the Almighty every possible aid in the task of saving the Emperor. The British Government hastened to offer its recognition ; that of the Czar was more reserved. The key of the manger in which the Prince of Peace was said to have made his first appearance in the world soon furnished a test of the mutual feelings of France and Russia. The Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem having—under orders from the French Ambassador—helped himself to this relic, Count Nesselrode was directed to protest in the name of the Greek Church, and of his master, Nicholas, the Czar. In a sneering despatch it was announced that "the Emperor had considered it necessary to adopt, at the outset, precautionary measures . . . to neutralise the effect of the French Ambassador's threats, and to guard himself, *in any contingency, against a Government accustomed to act by surprise.*" Nicholas went on to refuse the new-fangled Emperor the title of "my brother," only addressing him as "Sir !" The political atmosphere became lurid ; the guardian angels of the two nations—now so fondly united—stood apart with angry eyes, appealing to the sympathies of Europe.

While matters on the Continent were in this electrical condition, our Island was involved in a political crisis. The Cabinet of Lord Derby had been defeated in the House of Commons and had resigned, and a new Ministry had been formed of which Lord Aberdeen was the nominal head ; the Foreign Secretary being Lord John Russell, and the moving spirit Lord Palmerston, who had not long before been dismissed from the Foreign Office and now obtained the portfolio of Home Secretary. Palmerston's dismissal from the last Liberal Ministry had been due to an indiscreet expression of sympathy with Louis Napoleon, who was his personal friend ; and his regard for the new French Empire had not been weakened by recent events.

Things being so—namely, the French ruler ambitious, the Czar angry, Austria and Prussia irresolute—, "a penny in the slot" was all that was needed to set in motion the machinery of war. This impulse was given by Nicholas. On a cold morning in January, 1853, the thought occurred to the Autocrat that enmity might be advantageously sown on both shores of the Straits of Dover ; and in the course of the evening of the 9th his Majesty found his first opportunity at an evening party at the house of the Archduchess Helena in St. Petersburg, where he met the British Ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour. On the 21st February he proceeded to develop the suggestions of

the former meeting. "I tell you," said the Czár to the Ambassador, "that, if your Government has been led to believe that Turkey retains any element of existence, it must have received incorrect information. The sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise." Next day the conversation was renewed : Constantinople was mentioned ; and the Czar repudiated any intention of seizing it, preparing to suggest neutralisation. The Balkan States would, however, be taken under Russian "protection ;" the importance of Egypt to the English was recognised ; they might help themselves to the Nile valley and also to an adjacent island—Crete was suggested as a convenient place-of-arms.

What was the result on the report of these propositions being known in England must be generally familiar. At first, indeed, the British Government was moderate in its language ; but Palmerston had an axe of his own to grind ; he wished to cement an alliance with Napoleon III., and he was probably not unwilling to put spokes in Lord John's wheels. Readers of Kinglake remember the reading of the despatch to a slumberous council, and the declaration of war by the *Times* newspaper. Making allowance for the exigencies of picturesque prose, we may fairly assume that, with the vindictive "Ilchi" at Constantinople—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—, and the energetic but intriguing "Pam" in London, public opinion became more and more agitated. On the other hand, Nicholas was not idle. An ill-judged visit of Quakers to his capital, coupled with the known pacific character of Lord Aberdeen, led him to disbelieve in the reality of British indignation ; Austria was neutral, Prussia even more ; and the Autocrat went forward with his schemes. In May, 1853, Prince Menschikoff, Russian Minister to the Porte, obtained a private interview with the Sultan ; but the British Envoy, Lord Stratford, had been beforehand with him and strengthened the Sultan by a promise of support : "in the event of imminent danger" the fleet would be summoned from the Mediterranean ; on the 15th, Menschikoff took his departure and repaired to Odessa ; in June Nesselrode announced the intention of the Czar to occupy the Danubian Provinces ; on the same day the British squadron was ordered to the Dardanelles.

In the course of the next eighteen months war was waged between Russia on the one side and four nations, the French, English, Turks, and Piedmontese on the other. Finally, the Czar lost his fleet, his army, and his life ; and a treaty was extorted from his son which hardly lasted twenty years, but gave a new lease of life to the Sick Man and left him free to surround his couch with Christian corpses.

Allusion has been already made to the next occasion on

which the Russians again came into disastrous contact with Great Britain; but it is necessary that we should look a little closer into the events of 1878 if we would see how the task of "maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire" was undertaken; the same which had been the alleged object of the Crimean War. In the latter part of the year 1876 the Czar declared war against Turkey, having earnestly requested the British Minister at his Court—Lord A. Loftus—to "do his utmost to dispel the cloud of suspicion and distrust of Russia which had gathered in England." The alleged reason for the war was the refusal of the Sultan to give guarantees for reforming his administration. In the following June the Russian Government undertook to respect British interests. "So long as England remains neutral . . . Egypt should not be brought within the radius of military operations: as to Constantinople, the Imperial Cabinet repeats that the acquisition of that capital is excluded from the views of his Majesty the Emperor."

A long and bloody struggle ensued, during which, as officially reported, the Russian losses amounted to over sixty-thousand men. The lines of Plevna were at last surrendered by Osman Pacha; and, the Sultan invoking the mediation of the neutral powers, Queen Victoria addressed a personal appeal to the Czar, begging him to "accelerate the negotiations for an honourable peace." The British fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles, and on the 29th January, 1878, the Foreign Office in London was notified that the Porte had sent plenipotentiaries with authority to accept the bases of peace offered by Russia. The British Cabinet on this obtained a credit of six millions and ordered troops to be sent from India to the Mediterranean. On the 3rd March a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano, in which Russia was awarded certain compensations, in money and territory; and provision was made for the free passage of merchant vessels through the Dardanelles, in time of peace and in time of war.

But the Czar was not "satisfied. The great Powers had so long undertaken the "protection" of the Turkish territory, in other words that no individual power should take any part of it unless all joined in the scramble, that he felt that the final arrangements should be secured by a general Congress. Accordingly, at his Imperial Majesty's instance, Bismarck invited all the great Powers to assemble by their accredited agents at the Prussian capital. At the same time the reserves were called out in England—a step which led to the resignation of Lord Derby, following the example of Lord Carnarvon, who had left the Cabinet a short time before.

While these discussions were pending, the Russian Government adopted a vigorous measure, which may be taken as sounding the keynote of their future policy in regard to British India. They met the arrival of Indian troops in the Mediterranean by the indisputably appropriate counter-stroke of sending a mission to Sher Ali, the Amir of Cabul, then known to be in a state of scarcely-veiled enmity towards the Government of India. So far as Russian policy is concerned, there need be no doubt of the object with which the mission was undertaken. If you, said the Muscovite, look upon your Indian garrison as a force to be used to check us in Europe, we will cause you such trouble in India as shall make you glad to call your troops together in Asia and keep them there. It was a plain answer to the late proceedings of the Queen's Government and a warning signal for future guidance.

But, before Colonel Stolieteff and his party could reach Cabul, British policy had taken a new departure. Not only had the Cabinet of St. James's accepted the invitation to Berlin in the person of its two most prominent members, but they had entered into a secret agreement with Russia as to the general lines of the future, besides concluding a separate agreement with the Porte. With the morality of these doings, our argument has no concern. Denied at first, the Russian agreement was made public by the enterprise of a London evening journalist on 14th June; but the labours of the Congress continued until the 13th of the following month, when Lords Salisbury and Beaconsfield returned from Berlin, bringing (as they said) peace with honour; and also (which was more to the purpose) bringing the promise of good things in the shape of Egypt and Cyprus.

It is not the purpose of the above curt relation to find fault with any party, or with any man; but it seems not wholly idle to point out that two of the ablest men in the Ministry attested by a public act their disapproval of the course adopted. As to the immediate result, we can hardly wonder if the public opinion of the whole conduct attributed to our rulers a cynical spirit, a grasping policy thinly veiled in hypocritical verbiage. To this pass had come our zeal for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, that we retired from its championship with two Provinces; and these substantially the same as had aroused our indignation when their acquisition had been suggested by the Emperor Nicholas in 1853. Crete, to be sure, we had not taken; luckily, perhaps, for ourselves; but we hold Cyprus, under a most flimsy disguise; and in Egypt we seem planted *sine die*.

Now, this narrative has not been written in vain if it shows:

1. What is the real danger from the enmity of Russia.

2. What reasons Russia has for nourishing enmity against us.

Let us agree with our adversary while we are in the way with him. Let us, by all means, guard our own interests, with the sacrifice of life and goods if necessary ; but let us never again forget that other nations have their interests also. The scope of Russia's designs in Asia must be well known to the political experts in London. Her Majesty the Queen, as the oldest and most experienced of European politicians, must be well aware of the facts, as also in a less—but still considerable—degree must Lords Dufferin and Salisbury. Just before the fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1885, an understanding was arrived at with Russia by which Turkestan and Badakshan were secured to the Afghans with the full command of the Zulfikar Pass ; so that many of the Liberal leaders must be also aware of the general line and "trend" of Russian policy in Central Asia. Her objective is the sea ; a population of a hundred millions cries "Thalatta, Thalatta," and will not always cry in vain : the Siberian railway is the answer to this cry already.

But the conquest of India is in no sort of way needful ; and would only add to Russian responsibilities and remove to vulnerable quarters, that defence which the nation has hitherto possessed in the inaccessible nature of its territory. As for our own nation, it has only to rest calm and assured, in its own resolution and its naval strength. Long ago an English Admiral told King Henry VIII. that "a degree of frenzy was necessary to qualify a man for the station of a sea-officer." From Sir Richard Grenville down to recent times, our sea-officers have continued to show that they had learned that lesson, and were ready to defend the cause of their country with the Beresark audacity indicated by the old sea-dog and known to all mankind. The Mistress of the Seas has always been well served ; she has no occasion to remove from her native element and engage in adventures on land. If to that hazardous conduct she is to add the exasperation of the inhabitants of the border-land between Indian and Russian territory, Britain may find her undertakings beyond even her strength, undertakings in which the skill and courage of her marine service will be of no avail.

Russia is at present invulnerable ; so long as she retains her inland seclusion she can defy the world. Napoleon could do her no injury more permanent than could be inflicted upon her a century earlier by Charles XII of Sweden. But the Russians are not satisfied ; they long to burst the walls that confine, while they protect ; like the Princess in the enchanted tower, they long to go forth and mingle with the world. There is nothing unreasonable in such a craving ; and our country has

nothing to gain by hindering its fulfilment, even were it possible so to do.

But it is not possible, as our statesmen probably know. The subjects of the Czar are brave, patient, amenable to discipline and of an ardent patriotism; they have the habit of obedience, but there is considerable strength in the public opinion which—on very rare occasions—arises amongst them. One of their deepest convictions is that they are destined to possess Constantinople; and whenever the moment arrives, when that end becomes tangible, the most autocratic of governments would oppose it in vain. If the "integrity of the Ottoman Empire" were aught but a sham, it might be worth fighting for; but we have incontestable evidence that it is not.

Of one thing, at least, we may rest assured. It is the full intention of the Russian people that no one but themselves shall be the ultimate holders of Constantinople. The artichoke is being slowly devoured; England has taken two goodly leaves; France has Algeria and Tunis; Italy has her eye on Tripoly; Bosnia and Herzegovina are held by Austria, Russia alone has hitherto abstained, biding her time. When the final sharing takes place, Russia will neglect no measures necessary to secure the whole Black Sea littoral and the Dardanelles; and neither interest nor duty can justify our rulers in offering any opposition on behalf of the British Empire.

The time, then, is, by an increasing number of Englishmen, thought to have arrived for discarding the suspicions with which they have regarded Russia. Some doubt as to the possibility of the present British Government adopting the frank repudiation of ancient prepossessions involved in the policy here indicated is, however, still to be met with. It arises to a great extent from a vague, but general, doubt of Lord Salisbury's decision of character. According to a well-known report, very widely accepted nearly a score of years ago, Prince Bismarck said of him in 1878 that he was "a reed painted to look like a rail" (*un roseau peint en fer*). The saying is characteristic of the man to whom it was ascribed; even if he never uttered it, the general readiness with which it was accepted in London goes far to establish its substantial accuracy. But, whatever may be the defects of a distinguished statesman, they ought not to prevail over a deep conviction that the time has come for a change of conduct based on sincere repentance of past error.

ART. VII.—THE DIARY OF GOVINDA DAS.

BENGALI Literature before the Introduction of English Education was purely metrical and moved generally within the narrow grooves of religion and morality. It was, therefore, with much pleasure that we welcomed, some time ago, the publication of *Govinda Dāser Karchā*, a diary written by the mendicant Govinda, who accompanied Chaitanya on his travels, or rather pilgrimage, as his personal attendant, during the years 1508 and 1509. Govinda had exceptional opportunities for observing the manners and customs of the various countries through which Chaitanya moved, since Chaitanya was venerated as a sage, and, as his attendant, he obtained access to the highest Hindu society. Politically it was a very interesting period. The Bāhmani Empire had already been broken up and the five Musalman Kingdoms that rose out of its ruins had not yet been able to consolidate their power. The Hindu Princes were not slow to take advantage of the weakness of their Musalman neighbours. The whole of the coast of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouths of the Indus, was almost exclusively Hindu. The few outposts which the great Bāhmani Minister, Mahmud Gawan, had established, had been retaken by the Hindus. The Kings of Orissa were very powerful. They held what we know to-day as Orissa, and the whole of the Northern Sircars besides; the whole of the Central Provinces was Hindu, and Chaitanya passed mostly through Hindu territories, with the exception of the Konkan and Guzerāt. The line of his travels, curiously enough, lay mostly through coast country and through Central India. He was resolved, it seems, to avoid Musalman territory as much as possible. Chaitanya often met religious men of the Saiva, Vaisnava and Śākta sects, and they all treated him with kindness and consideration. He met with Buddhists also, and they abused him. There were dacoits on the way, but only in territories which had recently changed hands. We purpose, in this article, giving a detailed account of the contents of Govinda's diary.

There are people who doubt that Chaitanya ever took such a man as Govinda with him on his travels; and, in fact, his name is never mentioned in any of the standard works on the life of Chaitanya. But we know that, shortly after Chaitanya's death, the headship of the church fell to Nityānanda, and the personal followers of Chaitanya were at a discount. The standard works were all composed by men belonging to the dominant party; and this party was so bold as to ignore the existence of venerable followers of Chaitanya like Narahari Sarkār,

the head of the Vaidyas of Srikhanda, in Cutwa, who are still held in great respect by all classes of people. It is, therefore, not strange that they should omit to mention a poor monk like Govinda. Though we do not find Govinda's name in the standard works, we find him mentioned in more authentic records. Jayánanda, whose work on Chaitanya's life has been recently brought to light from various parts of the country and notably from an old collection of Bengali MSS. in the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, mentions Govinda Karmakár, the writer of this Diary by name, and Jayánanda was the son of one of Chaitanya's early followers and his name was given him by Chaitanya himself.

The MS. of the Diary was obtained from an obscure village in the Burdwan District. But unfortunately, like most Bengali MSS., it has not escaped the hand of improvers; and the improvements, mostly perceptible to experts, are the clumsiest things in the whole work.

Govinda Dás was the son of Shyáma Dás, a blacksmith by caste, who lived by manufacturing cutlery, and was an inhabitant of Kánchanagara, close to the city of Burdwan, still famous for such wares. His wife, he tells us naively, quarrelled with him and abused him; and, incensed at her conduct, he left his home and went away. This was in the Saka year 1430, corresponding to 1508 A. D. On his arrival at Cutwa, he heard the name of Chaitanya and directed his steps towards Navadwipa, where the teacher was living. Walking over the fields, it took him a whole day and night to reach the river side, opposite Nadia. He crossed over early in the morning and easily reached the courtyard of Sribása, where Chaitanya was a frequent visitor. It was a place near the Balláladighi and the ruins of Ballál's palaces.

There for the first time he saw the handsome figure of Chaitanya, who came with four or five companions, one of whom was a Sanyási, to bathe in the river. The others slowly descended by the ghát; but the "Sanyási," it is related, disdaining this slow process, leapt from the high bank into the river. Last of the company was a venerable old man, with grey hair and grey beard reaching below the chest, and with a fascinating countenance even at that age. The Sanyasi swam across the river several times and then they all began to swim. They were in a sportive mood, Govinda tells us, and, as long as they were in the water, they played numerous tricks for their amusement, in all of which the Sanyási took a prominent part. After a time they returned to the river bank; and Govinda here gives a description of the personal appearance of Chaitanya.

We are told that his complexion was of extraordinary

brilliancy and his luxuriant jet black hair reached down to his hips. His eyes are described as large, "like the petals of a blue lotus," his cheeks as plump, his forehead as high, and his walk as stately. As he cried "Hari Bole," "Hari Bole," his attitude was that of the deepest devotion. His heart, we are told, was so tender that he ran to embrace everyone who claimed his pity. The sound of the name of Hari drew floods of tears from his eyes.

Govinda tells us that the sight of this sport in the water produced a strange effect on his mind. His hair stood erect and he began to tremble and perspire. He had heard before that the Great God had descended to the earth in the form of Chaitanya; he now felt the divine presence. He was seized with an ardent longing to devote himself to the service of this living God; to wash his feet with tears. While Govinda was in this state of religious exaltation, Chaitanya passed close to him and glanced curiously at his strange figure. Unable to resist the fascination of his presence, Govinda fell at his feet and began to roll on the ground. Chaitanya raised him by the hand and spoke to him. What his words were, Govinda does not say, but the sound of his voice fascinated the poor blacksmith. "In such a presence," says he, "people forget all their terrestrial blessings and are impelled to devote themselves to the service of God."

After the first access of enthusiasm had been allayed, Chaitanya asked Govinda his name and residence, and Govinda gave him a brief history of his life. Chaitanya thereupon offered him a place in his household and asked him to occupy himself with the service of Hari. The terms of his service were easy. He was to fetch Ganges water for the worship and gather Tulsi leaves for the same purpose. Here he got all he wanted.

The house of Chaitanya, which was situated at the southern extremity of the town of Navadvīpa, was on a high bank of the river, and contained five huts. Close to the house was a large piece of water known as Ballālsāgar.

Of the companions of Chaitanya the most prominent were two; the old man with grey beard—Advaita Achārya, already mentioned, and the Sanyāsi named Nityananda, a madcap who constantly shed tears and rolled on the ground. Among them was old Murāri Gupta, a physician by caste and profession; Narahari, the patriarch of the Vaidyas at Srikhanda, Vidyānidhī, the learned Brahman, and so on. Chaitanya's mother is described as an old lady of short stature and peaceful countenance, who constantly called aloud for Nīmāi, her favorite name for Chaitanya. Chaitanya's wife, Bishnupriya, is represented as a modest, bashful lady, always

anxious to please her lord by her services, who spoke in a voice so low that few people ever heard it. Govinda, as a servant of the house, was assiduous in his endeavours to please Vishnupriyá by his prompt and timely discharge of the household duties.

With all his good qualities, Govinda was very fond of eating ; and in Chaitanya's house he gave full reins to his voracity. There was a room in the house dedicated to Vishnu. As a Hindu, Chaitanya considered that his existence and the existence of everything around him was to serve but one end, *viz.*, the glorification of Vishnu ; and, with this conviction in his mind, he dedicated everything to the deity. The household furniture, the household utensils, the house and all its inmates, were for Vishnu. There can be no Hindu household without its Thákur. A Thákur may be either an image of Vishnu, or a Sálgrám, a black round piece of stone from the sources of the river Gandak, with a hole in it. It is believed that the hole is made by a kind of insect which leaves a circular mark in the interior of the hole. This mark is called the Chakra, or the disc of Vishnu, and the whole energy of a Hindu is to be devoted to the service of this household deity. If a new cloth is purchased, if a new piece of finery is obtained from a distant country, it should be first brought into the presence of Vishnu and there consecrated to his service before it can be used. The greatest anxiety of a Hindu is for the *bhoga*, or the mid-day meal of Vishnu, his *jalpany*, or tiffin, and his *sital*, or supper. For this purpose an inventory has been made in the works on Hindu ritual of all the articles that can be eaten. Some of these have been set down as pure, that is worthy of being presented to Vishnu, and others as impure, to be kept back from him. Now, a Hindu is supposed to eat the *prasád*, or the broken victuals of Vishnu ; and so, in theory, no edibles can be introduced into his house which cannot be presented to Vishnu. Fish, flesh, eggs, onion, and so on are impure substances and in theory should never be introduced into a Hindu household.

Cooked food can be eaten once during the day and once during the night. The tiffin, therefore, which is eaten for the second time in the day, should consist of uncooked articles of food such as fruits, molasses, sugar, butter, sour-milk, curds and various preparations of milk.

In Chaitanya's household the tiffin of Vishnu consisted of fruits, roots, sour-milk, butter, cream and thickened milk ; his midday meal of cooked rice, *dál*, green vegetables, bitter vegetables, hodge-podge, vegetable soup, and *páyasa*, or rice milk ; and his *sital*, or supper, of cakes (*luchi*), balls of sweetmeats, (*laddu*). All these preparations were made for the service of

Hari. All the food, cooked and uncooked, was brought before the image of Vishnu and consecrated to his service, and then distributed to the members of the household. It was the privilege of Govinda as the favorite servant of the household to eat the food left on the plate of Chaitanya. The members of the household were supposed to eat the leavings (*prasád*) of the god Vishnu, and the servants the leavings of the members of the Brahman household.

Chaitanya, we are told, passed his days and nights in loudly proclaiming the name of Hari. His principal rendezvous was the courtyard of Sribása pundit. This man was born at Kumárhatta, 28 miles north of Calcutta. He opened a (*tal*) Sanskrit College at Nadiya. His courtyard was surrounded on all sides by mud walls, and in the centre of this large yard there was a gigantic flowering plant named Kunda, the flowers of which are white and great favourites of Hari. The followers of Chaitanya were in the habit of assembling here in the morning in order to pluck the flowers with a view to offering them to their household deities, and they assembled here again in the afternoon also. They used to sing, dance, and read the Bhagabat; but their principal entertainments were dramatic performances. They would take some story from one of the various *Purānas* in honour of Vishnu, choose the *dramatis personæ* from amongst themselves and act. Chaitanya in all these performances took the part of Vishnu. Sometimes, while acting, he completely forgot his own existence and acted as if he had been himself Vishnu. Sometimes he would fall into a trance and remain unconscious of external existence for several hours, nay even for twenty-one hours, or seven *praharas*, at a time, and, while in these trances, he acted as if he were Vishnu. It was the belief of his followers that during these trances his human character was held in abeyance for the exhibition or manifestation of the divinity in him. They began to give out that he was an incarnation; but it must be said to the credit of Chaitanya that, except during the trances, he never spoke of himself as Vishnu. He always acted as a weak and humble follower of the god, devoted to the service of humanity; and he rebuked any one who ventured, in his presence, to talk of his divinity.

The method adopted by Chaitanya and his followers for preaching their religion was peculiar. They used to form a procession in the street, singing songs in praise of Hari, with certain musical instruments, the mridanga and kartáls, which have since become peculiar to his sect. The whole procession was known as Nagarkirtan, that is the proclamation of the glory of Hari in the city or town. This attracted large crowds to the street, and many, charmed with the matter of the songs, or with the manners and enthusiasm of the leaders of the procession,

joined them and became their followers. This was a potent instrument in the conversion of the people to Vaisnavism. While everything connected with Brahmanical worship was wrapped in impenetrable mystery, and, therefore, beyond the comprehension of the common people, Chaitanya appealed to their feelings, and, in songs charmingly persuasive, urged them to reform their lives and devote themselves to the service of God. And so, in the course of six or seven years immediately following his pilgrimage to Gya, he collected a considerable number of devoted followers round him.

Here is an instance related by Govinda of Chaitanya's losing his identity in Krishna. One fine evening, he tells us, there was a large gathering of Chaitanya's followers in Sribása's courtyard, when the tall, cheerful Sanyási entred crying: "This is the ghât in the Jamuna. This is the place where Krishna, in the company of the milkmaids of Brindában, amused himself with a *Râsa* dance! Ah! where are those things now? where are the milkmaids and where is the dance? The ghât is empty." Thereupon Chaitanya rose from his seat perfectly unconscious, ran to the Ballálságar, jumped into it, and began to divert himself, just as Krishna is said to have done at Brindában, while his followers stood by the side of the tank marvelling at his conduct.

Thus, says Govinda, was Chaitanya falling deeper and deeper in love with his deity, while his person was getting thinner and thinner. But Chaitanya was not satisfied with all this, he felt that he was a householder, burdened with distracting duties to others that kept him away from his God—the sole object of his love. He began to talk of renouncing the world and devoting himself without interruption, without distraction, to the service of God, and for the relief of sinful and suffering humanity. The most abject sign of humility among Hindus, is to go abroad with a blade of grass in the mouth held between the teeth. And Chaitanya began to talk of holding a blade of grass between his teeth, and, in that position of abject humility, going from village to village proclaiming the name of Hari and thereby saving the souls of all creatures, without restriction of caste, creed, or colour.

The first declaration of his resolution to renounce the world was received by his followers with amazement. He was their leader; their friend; the object of their love; the object of their reverence and adoration; their god; their living and moving Vishnu. They lived in a sort of charmed circle and in the enjoyment of ecstatic delight. To lose him was for them to lose their lives. Govinda describes very minutely the sufferings of every one of Chaitanya's followers when he heard for the first time the declaration of Chaitanya. Govinda says that it would have been immensely

better if a thunder-bolt of heaven had burst on his head before he heard this declaration. On hearing the announcement, Mukunda fell senseless to the ground, and his tears flowed copiously. Gadadhur felt as if the canopy of heaven had come down upon him and was ready to take poison. Some felt as though they were being bitten by a thousand scorpions; some felt an intense burning sensation all over the body; some with their jaws locked, fell insensible to the ground. But the suffering of the mother and wife defied description. Chaitanya did his best to console them all. He told them many a stories from the Puránas—the stories of Prálháda, Dhruba, and Bharat; he explained to them the vanity of human wishes; the transitory nature of things mundane; he impressed upon them the sinfulness of the world and the absolute necessity of saving humanity, sunk deep in sin.

But, in spite of all his efforts to console his friends, to pacify his mother, and to reconcile his wife to her expected lot, Chaitanya was successful with none; and so he had to steal away at dead of night from a conjugal bed, on the last day of the month of Pous, in the year 1508 A.D., with Govinda as his sole companion in this great renunciation. But, though he succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his friends and even in lulling a loving wife to sleep, his mother he could not escape from. At his slightest motion, she ran out of the house and stood motionless in the doorway, gazing at her stubborn son, who renounced everything that is loved in this world for a higher love and a higher life.

Chaitanya crossed the river and took the road to Cutwa. He and Govinda reached their destination just at dusk; the hour when a Hindu city reverberates with the auspicious sounds of conches, bells and timbrels, and the fragrance of burning incense fills the streets. Chaitanya's friends at Cutwa collected round him, and the night passed in *Kirtan*. In the morning a large crowd assembled and he preached to these people. If you want to enjoy eternal happiness, worship Krishna, meditate on Krishna and take the name of Krishna. All the objects that you see around you are mere illusions. They are only a shadow. When death shall push you by the neck, all your fond idols will remain behind. There is absolutely no difference between rich bedsteads and the ground in the matter of sleeping. Those who think there is a difference suffer from the thought. Those whose heads are turned on the accession of wealth are hellish creatures. It is only ignorance that finds a difference between the rich and the poor; for what does a rich man require to appease his hunger? A morsel of food. Does not that appease the hunger of the poor man also? The poor man falls into sound sleep, though he lies on the ground; but

the rich man passes a sleepless night even on his precious bed. The rich man cannot appease his hunger with all his gold, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones. At the time of death there will be no distinction between a rich and a poor man. A fond-illusion misleads the rich and makes him turn round and round and round, just as the bullock attached to the oil machine. Just as the bullock finds no end of his walking, and makes but very little progress, such is exactly the case with the rich man. He moves in a narrow circle and never comes to the end of his journey. When the soul leaves the body, this human frame remains like a cage without a bird. Fond of worldly enjoyment, selfish people are greatly attached to their temporal possessions. But what is the good of these? What will sons and daughters, palaces and tanks avail? A right-thinking man should give up all attachment to these and fix his mind on Krishna. He is the only abiding substance; all else is vain. The form of Krishna sheds its brilliant effulgence in every quarter and from every place. He only can catch a glimpse of it whose eye is pure. Ignorant people see with their human eyes. But the votaries of Krishna see with divine eyes. How can a man look into the subtle truths if his eyes are blinded with the dust of the world?

"People often talk of love; but who knows what love really is. Does it really mean the hankering after the company of women? No, the true idea of love will never be realised, unless and until one realises the absolute identity between males and females. It is not a mere hankering after progeny. It is a hankering after God. The faintest conception of true love produces a cooling effect in a suffering heart. Just as a young damsel hankers after her handsome lover, so should the votaries of Krishna hanker after his company. They should consider themselves as wives and him as their sole lord. He who hankers after Krishna will not even dream of sensual enjoyment. Just as darkness disappears in the presence of light, so will lust disappear in the presence of true love, and Krishna the embodiment of that love. If one is anxious to get rid of the sufferings of the world he should seek after this true love."

On the third day of his sojourn at Cutwa, Chaitanya asked his companions to make preparations for his initiation as a mendicant. The most imposing part of the ceremony of initiation is the shaving of the crown lock. From the description of Govinda it appears that Chaitanya's hair, instead of consisting of a small lock, covered his whole head. Deva, the barber of Cutwa, shaved him, and Keshab Bháratí, eighth in the succession of disciples from Rámánuja, the great founder of the Sri sect of Vaisnabas, initiated him and gave him Sri Krishna Chaitanya as his monastic name—a name by which

he has become famous. As a house-holder his name was Bisshwambhar. His mother used to call him Nimái.

There is a curious story about Deva, the barber, though it is not given in Govinda's work. After shaving the head of Chaitanya, Deva repented, as if he had done a great crime. In a suppliant attitude, with his palms joined, he came to Chaitanya and asked him for a boon, so as to absolve him from the necessity of carrying on any further the painful and miserable calling of a barber. So saying, he threw away his razor. Chaitanya granted him the boon desired, and told him to become a maker of sweetmeats; and Deva and his descendants were afterwards known as Madhu Nápits, and lived by the sale of sweetmeats and confectionery. In Bengal there is another caste known as Mayará who practice the same calling; but the caste constitution of the Mayarás differs considerably from that of the Madhu Nápits. The Mayarás are sub-divided into Asramas, while the Madhu Nápits are not so subdivided. The subdivisional names of castes are generally derived from their geographical distribution. There are two castes only which are subdivided into Asramas, *viz.*, the Gandha Baniks and the Mayarás. Though the Madhu Nápits differ so greatly from the Mayarás, yet in ordinary language they also are called Mayarás.

Shortly after his initiation, Chaitanya left Cutwa and arrived at Sántipore, where his elderly associate, Advaita lived. There he stayed for a few days; and his mother came there, from Nadia, which is within twenty miles by the river. Govinda says very little about this interview between Chaitanya and his mother, but other authors have described it in very touching terms. It was there settled that Chaitanya should live principally at Puri; so that his friends might see him on their pilgrimage to that shrine and his mother might receive occasional news of him.

Chaitanya at last started for Puri. From the day of their first meeting, Govinda was his constant attendant, and so he remained even after his great renunciation. From Sántipore, at the end of the first day's journey, they reached Burdwan, and Chaitanya accepted the hospitality of Govinda's family at Kánchannagar, which is close to Burdwan. There Govinda's wife tried every means to persuade Govinda to remain at home; but he had already renounced the world and embraced a mendicant life on the same day with Chaitanya at Cutwa. From Kánchannagar they crossed the Dámodar and reached the house of Kási Mitra, a man renowned for his hospitality. As Chaitanya was a Brahman and a mendicant, Kási Mitra, who was a Káyastha, could not offer him cooked rice; he offered, instead, raw rice and pulse. The rice was so excellent that

Chaitanya wanted to know its name. Among the numberless varieties of rice which grow in India, the pride of western Bengal is the Govinda bhoga. It is small in size, soft and sweet to the taste, and very fragrant. What Kási Mitra offered to Chaitanya was a variety of Govinda bhoga, named Jagannáth bhoga. As soon as Kási Mitra pronounced that name, it produced a convulsion of feeling, and he began to weep, praying that Jagannáth might draw him near. Chaitanya cooked many curries ; a vegetable soup ; fried *sák* (a pot-herb) of the *beto* variety. The fragrance of the curries was too much for poor Govinda to bear, and he began to cast wistful glances at them. Chaitanya knew Govinda's failing too well and at once bade him bring a few tulsi leaves with which to consecrate the things to Vishnu before eating. Chaitanya ate first and left the rest for Govinda, who records that the bitter soup was charming and gladdened his heart. "I ate," he continues, "eight pieces of fried *karela*, swallowing large mouthfuls of rice with it in quick succession. The chutney prepared with *chukáplam* and molasses tasted like nectar." In the afternoon they left Kási Mitra's house and reached Hajipore, where Chaitanya proclaimed the name of Hari, with dancing and singing, till midnight. Then a villager brought a small quantity of rice, ghee and vegetables. Bitter soup was prepared with the leaves of the *nim* tree and a quantity of *karela* was fried. From Hajipore Chaitanya went to Midnapore, where Kesava Sámanta, a rich citizen, became his disciple. Thence he went to Naraingarh. The Raja of this place was a Sadgopa by caste. His family had held possession of a small territory worth three lakhs a year from the time of the Great Pála Kings of Bengal. The fort of Naraingarh, lying on the highway between Bengal and Orissa, was regarded as the key of the latter country. So even the Emperors of Delhi always tried to keep on good terms with the Raja. There is here a temple of Siva named Dhaneswar, who was the guardian deity of Naraingarh. Chaitanya paid his devotion to Siva and then began to proclaim the name of Hari. When the Kirtana was at its height, Chaitanya lost his senses and began to sing and dance in the wildest manner. Govinda says that blood exuded from the pores of his skin. People flocked round to see the spectacle, bringing large quantities of flour and balls of sweetmeat, which, as usual, at once attracted Govinda's attention, and of which he tells us he ate twenty. Chaitanya's proclamation produced a marvellous effect at Naraingarh ; and Bireswar Sen and Bhaváni Sankar became his disciples.

From Naraingarh the pilgrims went to Jaleswar, where Chaitanya worshipped the phallic emblem of Siva, named

Villesvara. The next day they crossed the Suvarnarekhá and proceeded to Hañharpur. This was a great emporium of trade in those days. A century later, the East India Company established their first Factory at this place (and not at Pipli, as is commonly believed). The next day they went to Báleswar, where there was a temple of Gopála, a form of Vishnu. The next morning they reached Nilgarh, and on the following day they crossed the Vaitarani. After a hard day's journey they reached the Mahánadi, where they visited the temple of Gopináth, and, after eating the food consecrated to that deity, proceeded to pay their respects to Sákshi Gopál. The image of Gopál at this place is said to have borne witness in a case of theft in which a poor innocent Brahman was by mistake put into trouble. From that temple Chaitanya went to another dedicated to Ningráj, and thence to a place named Atháranálá (eighteen ditches), from which the pinnacle of the temple of Jagannáth at Puri is visible.

The outburst of Chaitanya's feeling at the sight of this celebrated place of Vishnu worship is described in glowing terms in the verses of Govinda. Weeping and wailing, Chaitanya repeatedly fell to the ground and wetted it with tears. He embraced every one who came in his way and asked every one to look at the image of Gopál engaged in dancing. Without stopping he entered into the temple of Jagannáth ; but, with his eyes dimmed with tears, he could not at first see the image. With a great effort he stopped the flow of tears, and, when he caught sight of it, he at once ran to it and took it on his knees. When leaving the Mandir, he leapt to the ground and grasped the pillar in front of the temple known as the Garud-stambha. His body was bruised in many places and blood exuded from the wounds. Dhyánapuri, a great Sanyási, wiped off the blood.

From the temple, Chaitanya went to the house of Kási Misra, where Chaitanya's followers joined him one by one. As long as he was at Puri, they used to hold Kirtana every day and at all hours. All his followers were busy in paying their devotion to him—some in preparing wreathes, others in mixing sandal paste, others in making ready the feast. Two men, Krishna-dás and Shyámdás, were constantly at the side of Chaitanya, who, from the intensity of his devotional feelings, was incapable of taking care of himself. He used to visit the temple every day ; but they never allowed him to go alone ; on the way he was surrounded by his followers. His principal work was the proclamation of the name of Hari, attended with music and dancing, and his principal recreation was the hearing of the Bhágavata.

A peculiar feature of Puri is that no caste distinction as ob-

served there as regards cooked food. The Suars, that is the Shavaras, a low aboriginal tribe, have the privilege of offering the first worship to Jagannáth, and they are his cooks. The cooked food offered to the deity is distributed according to rules and also sold in the Bazar. This cooked food can be carried from one place to another within the city and beyond it by any caste and for the use of any other caste. The proudest Brahman cannot refuse a mouthful of rice brought to him by a Chandála. This is, perhaps, the only place in Northern India where caste distinction does not hold good, and where the awful fast obligatory on all Hindu widows on the eleventh day of the moon is never observed. The glutton Govinda, as may be imagined, was in clover here. Kási Misra used to bring a vast quantity of prasáda, or consecrated food, every day. The savoury curries made Govinda's mouth water. The various kinds of fried grain, *i.e.*, fried rice, fried sesamum, fried linseed, fried barley, fried oats, fried mung ka-dal (kidney beans) and fried beans ; various fruits and roots, preparations of cocoanut, cakes of all sorts, numerous confectioneries and an immense assortment of delicacies were the portion allotted to him by Chaitanya with his own hand. For three months Govinda enjoyed his good fortune to his fill. At last on the seventh day of Vaishákha, of the year 1509 A. D., Chaitanya resolved upon proceeding on a pilgrimage to Southern India. His friends begged him to take a number of men with him ; but he preferred the company of one man only, and that was his favourite servant, Govinda.

It was on the 7th of Vaishákha, in the year 1509, that Chaitanya began his pilgrimage to Southern India. He was accompanied from Puri to Alalá Náth, a distance of about ten miles, by all his followers, who moved slowly in procession. The town of Alalá Náth is named after an image of Vishnu of that name Chaitanya was greatly moved at the sight of this image and fell senseless with excess of emotion. He stayed at Alalá Náth for the night, and in the morning, accompanied by Govinda and Sárvvabhauma, continued his journey southwards. Sarvvabhauma does not seem to have accompanied them far, for we soon lose sight of him ; but Govinda does not say when he turned back. Before doing so, however, he advised Chaitanya to pay a visit to Rámánanda Ráy, the governor of the Godávarí District, of the Orissa Kingdom. Rámánanda was a devoted follower of Hari, and, like Chaitanya, often fell into trances and shed copious tears at the mention of his name. He was a Káyastha by caste, a very rich man, surrounded with all the pomp and dignity of royalty. He came to bathe in the Godávarí, and there Chaitanya met him at the ghát. Chaitanya stopped at Vidyánagar, the capital

of Rámánanda Ráy, for some time, and his conversation with Rámánanda, known as Rámánanda sambád, is regarded by the Vaisnabas as the best exposition of the doctrine of love and devotion taught by Chaitanya. All the deepest doctrines of Chaitanya's faith are to be found in it. It was arranged that, on Chaitanya's return to Puri, Rámánanda should join him there and pass the rest of his life in talking of love and devotion to Hari.

From Vidyánagara, Chaitanya journeyed to Trimanda. It has been suggested by Babu Dines Chandra Sen that the modern Trimallaghari, near Hyderabad, was ancient Trimalla. There were a very large number of Buddhist monks at the place, and they invited Chaitanya to a disputation. Chaitanya refused all their arguments and they were put to shame. The Raja of Trimanda, who acted as an arbitrator, declared the Buddhists defeated, and Rámgiiri Ráy, the head of the Buddhist church, became a pupil of Chaitanya.

Krishna Dás Kaviráj relates a story illustrative of the wickedness of the Buddhists. Worsted in disputation, they secretly devised a plan to insult, annoy and defile Chaitanya. They went into a lonely forest through which his road lay and there presented him with a metal plate of unclean food, representing it to be the remnants of broken victuals of Vishnu. At that moment, however, a gigantic bird, descending from heaven, swooped over it and, carrying it aloft, again dropped it on the head of one of the Buddhist teachers, which was cut by it. The Buddhist teacher fell senseless to the ground amidst the lamentations of his followers. They now besought Chaitanya to revive their Achárjya, and this he did by uttering the name of Hari in his ears. Krishna Dás represents these Buddhists as exceedingly learned; but he says that in spite of their learning, they should not be spoken to or looked upon because they are heterodox. Chaitanya condescended to hold a disputation with them, because he thought that their defeat would lead to the spread of his faith. How unpopular they were in those days may be gathered from the fact, stated by Krishna Dás, that the people jeered at them, and they were completely put out of countenance. Chaitanya, however, converted them to Vaisnavism and the great learning of Buddhist monks was now pressed into the service of that faith.

Dhundirám Tirtha, who hailed from the banks of the Tungabhadrá, was a great logician; his conceit knew no bounds. He had no conception of the doctrine of Bhakti. After the conversion of the Buddhists, Dhundirám came forward and challenged Chaitanya to a disputation. Chaitanya, with his characteristic meekness, gave out that he had already been defeated, and agreed to give him a written acknowledgment

of the fact. This completely changed Dhundirám ; and he fell at Chaitanya's feet and became his disciple. Chaitanya changed his name into Hari Dás, a name by which Dhundi subsequently became famous.

After all this, we are told, Chaitanya directed his steps towards Panthaguha. On his way he halted under a big banian tree, in the vicinity of a temple of Shiva who is named Bateshwar, after the tree. No food or drink was procurable there, and the pilgrims consequently had to pass the night without refreshment. In the morning Chaitanya went to the river for the purpose of bathing, and Govinda went to a distant village to beg for food. He returned at noon and Chaitanya cooked. Govinda says never were victuals more delicious than on that occasion. It was here that Chaitanya effected the conversion of a rich man named Tirtharám, who had come with two women of ill-fame, apparently to enjoy himself in that secluded place. After remaining seven days in Bateshwar, the pilgrims proceeded to Nandishwar, through a thick forest, extending over twenty miles and infested with ferocious animals and venomous serpents. It is related that, at the sight of the terrible forest, Govinda quailed with fear, and Chaitanya, seeing this, led the way, while Govinda followed behind. And so they passed through in safety and reached the city of Munná beyond it.

Chaitanya sat under the shade of a tree, outside the city, to rest himself ; and two citizens who happened to be passing supplied him with all he wanted. They wondered at the behaviour of this new Sannyási. In the evening the citizens came in large numbers, and, making their obeisance to Chaitanya, requested him to enter the city and put up comfortably under some hospitable roof. But Chaitanya was already feeling the divine presence in him, and he began to weep and repeat the name of Hari. He fell down insensible, and then, rising in a trance, began to dance and sing in the name of Hari. At midnight the women of the city came to see him. The elderly ladies greatly sympathised with him, and, being struck with pity at his condition, requested him to stay a while at Munná ; but he declined.

From Munná, Chaitanya proceeded southward. He was accompanied for several miles by a large number of citizens ; but one by one they returned to their homes, with the exception of one man, Rámánandaswámi, who refused to leave him, and insisted on becoming his disciple.

Chaitanya arrived at the city of Vencata at about noon, and was at once challenged by a Vedantist pundit to a disputation. According to his usual custom, he declared that he had already been worsted, and was prepared to write out a certificate to

that effect ; but the pundit insisted on having a disputation, with the result that Chaitanya refuted all his arguments, and the Vedantist, whose name was also Rámánanda, became his disciple. Chaitanya sojourned for three days at Vencata ; and it is narrated that his influence was felt by men, women and children alike. The most hardened sinners were special objects of his commiseration, and many were led to change their lives by his example and preaching. Having heard at Munná that there was a highway robber, named Pantha Bhil, at Bagula, who was a terror to the neighbourhood, Chaitanya, in spite of every attempt to dissuade him from going to Bagula, went there, and, becoming a guest of Pantha Bhil, lived for three days and nights with him. He said to Pantha : Happy are you in having no wife, no children, and nothing to attract you to the world. Though living as a householder, you are more than a mendicant, because you are attached to nothing. You are the greatest of sages, and it is a privilege to live with you. Thus humouring his self-love, Chaitanya set himself to convert this noted dacoit, and he was eminently successful. Pantha Bhil renounced the world, clothed himself in rags and became a great Vaisnab leader ; and all his old associates joined him in his new walk of life.

Leaving Pantha Bhil a changed man, Chaitanya continued his journey southward. For three days and nights he had taken neither food nor rest ; but on the fourth day a small quantity of flour and milk were given by women at a spot where Chaitanya was lying naked and senseless in Govinda's arms. The flour was mixed with the milk and given to Chaitanya to eat. This revived him to a certain extent, and he walked to Girishwara which was six miles away.

The temple of Girishwara is believed to have been built by Vishwakarma, the divine architect. It was surrounded on three sides by mountains, and on the southern side there was a bel tree, the branches of which are said to have covered a space of half a mile. Chaitanya plucked the leaves of the bel tree and offered them with his own hand to Siva. The devotional trance was again upon him, and two days were passed in this condition. On the third day a mendicant with matted hair came down from the mountain peak, worshipped Siva, and went away without speaking a word, and Chaitanya followed him accompanied by Govinda. The mendicant was found sitting under a tree, wrapped in meditation so deep that Chaitanya's presence made no impression upon him. Then Chaitanya began to chant a hymn in praise of the Sannyási, who at last opened his eyes and laughed. Chaitanya sat by the side of the Sannyási who gave him six fruits named *parótá* to eat. Four of these fell to Govinda's share, but Govinda could not eat before

Chaitanya, who consequently ate a bit. Thereupon Govinda at once despatched his four fruits and began to look wistfully on Chaitanya's two. Chaitanya offered them to him. But the celebrated story of Ramayana, so well known to every Hindú child, occurring to Govinda at the time, staggered him. The story is that Hanumán was given a few mango fruits which then grew only in the garden of Rávana, by Sitá, one of which was destined for Ráma. But, while returning from Lanká, Hanuman was so delighted with the taste of the fruit that he ate even the one given him for Ráma. This was the most heinous sin for a worshipper (as Hanumán was) of Ráma, and the consequence was that the stone stuck in his throat. Govinda was apprehensive of a similar fate, and so he hesitated. But Chaitanya quieted the qualms of his conscience by assuring him that the fruit was freely given, and so Govinda ate them. When Chaitanya recovered from his trance, the mendicant declared him to be the God ; but he repudiated the idea in strong terms.

At Tirupati, Chaitanya saw the image of Ráma. There were many Vaisnavas of the Rámát denomination in the city ; and all of them were ambitious to display their skill in disputation, especially Mathurá, their chief. But Chaitanya declined their challenge, and, intimating his readiness to sign a certificate of defeat, implored the Rámát pundit not to indulge in fruitless argumentation, but to teach people the doctrine of devotion and the subtle truths of life and creation. While thus exhorting Mathurá, Chaitanya fell into a trance. Unaccustomed to such sights, the Ramats wondered at it and implored him to show them mercy. Mathurá, especially, was very deeply impressed and followed Chaitanya a long distance.

The pilgrims next proceeded to Panawar where there is an image of Nrisinha Deva, the man-lion, in praise of whom Chaitanya chanted a hymn.

They then came to Vishnu Kanchi, where there was a banker, Bhababhuti by name, who was a devoted worshipper of Vishnu. His wife used to cleanse the large temple of Lakshmi-Naráyana with her own hands, and he used to offer the deity daily two maunds of condensed milk. After offering his devotion to Lakshmi-Naráyana, Chaitanya proceeded to a temple of Siva, named Trikáláishwara, twelve miles away. From this temple was visible a peak named Pakshagiri, at the foot of which flowed a beautiful stream named Bhadrá Nadi. In that stream there is a holy bathing place named Paksha-Tirtha, where Chaitanya bathed and ate of the fruit named *champi*. Govinda relates that, while the pilgrims were lying under a tree here at night, they were attacked by a tiger. But, on Chaitanya uttering the name of Hari, the beast slunk away like a dog.

There was a temple of Baráha, or the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, at Kálatirtha, ten miles from the river Bhadrá. Chaitanya was delighted at the sight of the image, which is described as being of exquisite workmanship, and at the distinction conferred on him by the priests, who presented him with a garland of flowers. Ten miles south of this spot is the confluence of the Nandá and the Bhadrá, a sacred place for Hindús of all denominations. Sadánandaswámi, a Vedantist mendicant, was the abbot of the place ; but Chaitanya is said to have converted him to his own faith.

Thence he proceeded to Chainpalli, the people of which are spoken of as men of pure conduct, and where there were two female ascetics engaged in meditation, one under a bel tree, the other on the banks of a river ; one of whom was said to be over hundred years old.

From Chainpalli, Gouránga proceeded to the banks of the Káveri, where he bathed and prepared his *chápátis* with flour begged from a village by Govinda. In the village, which was called Nagara, there was a temple dedicated to Ráma and Lakshmana. Chaitanya made his obsequence to them and began to proclaim the name of Hari. Here a hostile Bráhman came, with a number of his comrades, and attempted to drive Chaitanya away, abusing him as a hypocrite and charlatan who had come to ruin the pupils and lead them to hell in the name of religion. This man went so far as to assault Chaitanya, who, however, made light of his fury, exhorting him all the time to proclaim the name of Hari. "Beat me," said he, "but proclaim the name of Hari." He then preached a long sermon to the Brahman, at the end of which, we are told, the people became so affected that they began to dance enthusiastically and to proclaim the name of Hari ; and the Brahman also caught the prevailing enthusiasm, and, joining the party, became in a short time a devoted follower of Chaitanya.

From Nagara, Chaitanya journeyed to Tanjore, which was fourteen miles off. Here Chaitanya became the guest of a Brahman, named Dhaleswar, who worshipped the images of Rádhá and Krishna in his house. In front of the temple of Rádhá and Krishna was a large bakula tree, to the left of which was a phallic emblem of Siva, named Gosamáj, to which Chaitanya paid homage. There was a beautiful lake close by, which was believed to have been formed of the skull of the gigantic Rákshasa, Kumbhakarna, the brother of Rávana, and near the lake was a picturesque hill named Chandalu. In this hill were numerous caves which were the homes of a large number of mendicants, all constantly engaged in devotion, with their eyes closed and their bodies covered with ashes.

Here there was a Brahman, with the surname Bhatta, who,

after seeing Chaitanya, and hearing his Kirtan, took him to his house and gave up everything to him. They were kindred spirits and soon became ardent admirers of one another, the Brahman regarding Chaitanya as his preceptor and serving him as a devoted menial, and Chaitanya regarding him as his favourite disciple.

From Tanjore, Chaitanya proceeded to the kingdom ruled by Jaisinha, about the charming scenery of which Govinda is enthusiastic. There, under the shade of large trees by the side of mountain streams, were a number of pious mendicants, engaged in devotional exercises, who never left their places and were supplied with all the necessities of life by the people of the neighbouring villages. The head of these mendicants was Sureswara, in whom Chaitanya, who staid there many days, found a kindred spirit.

Leaving the territories of Jaisinha, the pilgrims arrived at Padmakota (Podducotta), with its famous image of Durgá with eight hands. There Chaitanya preached to the citizens, and Govinda says that on one occasion the eight-handed image of Durga seemed to rock with emotion at his preaching. A shower of flowers fell from heaven and the fragrance of the lotus filled the air. There was a blind man in the city who came to Chaitanya and asked him to cure his blindness. Chaitanya argued with him that he was simply an ordinary man and made no pretention to working miracles; but the blind man told him that he was a devoted servant of Durgá; that she had told him in a dream that Chaitanya was an incarnation of Vishnu and would cure his blindness. "The eyes are required," said the blind man, "because I ardently desire to see the incarnation of Vishnu, who has favoured the sinful world with his presence." Chaitanya still argued with him, but at last, overcome by the sincerity of his devotion, he embraced him. The blind man opened his eyes; beheld the noble features of Chaitanya; made his obeisance, and dropped down dead, and Chaitanya began to proclaim the name of Hari with the wildest fervour.

(To be continued.)

ART. VIII.—PUBLIC WORSHIP.

(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

"Dixit Naaman :—

" ' Si adoravero in templo Remmon, ut ignoscat mihi Dominus
pro hac re,'

" ' Et dixit ei ; Vade in pace.' "

IV. Reg. v-18.

WHEN Elisha made his latitudinarian concession to the favourite of the king of Syria, he displayed a spirit of clerical solidarity hardly to have been looked for at the hands of one formed in the school of the deceased Tishbite. Had that uncompromising champion of orthodoxy been consulted, he would doubtless have informed Naaman that it would be his duty, immediately on getting home, to set the temple on fire and put all the priests to death. A few years had made a great advance on the path of toleration in Israel.

A similar change may be observed in progress amongst modern Englishmen. Samaria has become indulgent to Damascus and friendly to Jerusalem, although neither of those churches will acknowledge Samaritan orders ; and the Bishop of Salisbury at Nottingham showed an amiable face to our own Non-conformists, which those austere Philistines may, perhaps, not be prepared to reciprocate. But of one thing there seems but little hope, namely the conciliation of the Believer with the Agnostic. Will the Believer cease to call the Agnostic bad names ; and, until then, will the Agnostic be right in going to church, or chapel, and putting his money into the offertory-plate ; or ought he to refrain for ever from sharing in those means of grace ?

To this question it may be confidently answered that the fact of a man abstaining from dogmatism does not deprive him of his status as a citizen ; and that every citizen ought to comply with all the fashions and practices of his city in all things indifferent, even should they involve personal inconvenience to himself. If the Agnostic belong to a Catholic Society, he ought to go to Mass, even if he dislikes the pomp and splendour of the ceremonies, the unknown tongue of the liturgy, or whatever else ; so, the Anglican may object to the sacerdotal element in the Prayer-book, or to its " vain repetitions," but he can go to church with a good conscience and put himself into a wholesome frame of mind by extending sympathy to the rest of the congregation ; while the Non-conformist, wearied with the long extemporaneous prayers and preaching, can recollect that :—

" God takes the book and preaches patience."

For Agnostics are not Atheists, let the Orthodox say what they please. Most of them will admit that, in renouncing the right of defining Deity, they equally deprive themselves of all power of denial : they are disciples of Spinoza and Spencer, not of Democritus and Holbach : they may even go further and allow that a revelation of God's nature and relations to man—if such there be—must be the result of inspiration. For they know that such could not be due to human science working through verifying experiment. The Kingdom of Heaven cometh not by observation

For evidence of the soundness of these simple propositions, we have no occasion to go further than the most rudimentary facts. If men are to live in social intercourse at all, there must be a convention that, on matters not pertaining to that relation, controversy must be avoided. If every vegetarian, tonic-sol-faite, anti-vaccinationist, or other person whose views were opposed to those of the majority were to insist on aggressive polemics in favour of their respective heresies, the world would soon become such a scene of tumult that society would cease to exist. By conspicuously abstaining from the religious assemblies of his neighbours, the Agnostic is but too likely to render himself conspicuous and, perhaps, provoke enquiries which he would find it hard to evade, and troublesome to answer. If, indeed, he be one of those gifted monomaniacs who are conscious of a mission, if he can make certain of exercising the influence of a Buddha, a Mahomet, or a Luther, then the question will be transferred to another ground ; and it may become his duty to proclaim his opinions at any sacrifice.

But the ordinary citizen is not a chosen vessel of this kind : his vocation is—Peace. Let him be content to pursue the *fallentis semita vitæ*, and to affect those around him with a spirit of uncontentious freedom. The apparent universality of the law of causation compels him to see that material science can only classify material phenomena, but can never account for their production. Light, Language, Liberty, even life itself—and the list comprises almost all our treasures—are things that cannot be thought of as arising of themselves. The metaphysical basis thus postulated is quite beyond the scope of our faculties, but it is implied in all of which they can take cognizance, including the faculties themselves. This was the god preached of old at Athens ; whether defined by theologians or ignorantly worshipped, all of us raise some sort of altar to the unknown.

In the meanwhile an honest endeavour might, perhaps, be made by our spiritual pastors and masters to make their services more attractive to the candid Agnostic, anxious to con-

form to the usages of his time and place. To take the case most familiar to most of us, the Anglican ritual might be put on a more reasonable, and—with reverence be it said—a less tedious, footing. Setting aside exceptional cases, what a dull thing is the ordinary Sunday service in a parish church ! First, we have the “Morning Prayer,” or the “Evening Prayer,” as the case may be : of the latter few will complain : but the former is preposterously lengthened, first by the litany, and next by the first part of the communion. “In the course of these, the Lord’s Prayer is repeated three times ; the Queen is twice prayed for ; supplication is made that the Magistrates may ‘maintain truth,’ which savours of the long-extinct theories of uniformity and persecution ; readings or chantings are made from Coverdale’s incorrect and obsolete *Psalter* ; and the ten commandments of the Jews are rehearsed with solemn supplications. This last section is peculiarly insincere ; the Decalogue contains some elements which are now quite superfluous ; no one is tempted to make or worship idols, although, if the first clause of the second commandment were obeyed, there might be less offence to good taste in the streets of our large towns and other places where modern sculpture is exhibited. As to the fourth, surely few of us ever think of not doing any manner of work on Saturdays ; while, on the other hand, some of our most favourite sins and pleasant vices are not provided against. It is curious that this portion of the Church-service was objected to nearly two and-a-half centuries ago by the wise and earnest Chillingworth. Lastly, this portion of the wearisome affair concludes with a sermon, in which a man, no wiser—it may be—than ourselves, and often shy and fatigued, gives a perfunctory essay on some passage of the old tracts and records bound up by the traditions of past times in the boards of “The Bible.” To make preaching really effective, it ought, of course, to be entrusted only to licensed clergymen of approved experience and ability. In this respect, at least, Canterbury might learn from Rome.

But Anglicans and Catholics form but a part—less than half, it is believed—of the population of the British Islands ; and it is when we turn to the Chapels and Meeting-houses of the various Non-conformist bodies that we must expect to find the most difficulty. If the prayers of the Anglican Liturgy are too long and tautologic, if the sermons are often a source of irritation or somnolence, what must be the effect, on cultivated and independent minds, of the improvised praying and preaching of the average Dissenting Minister ?

Thus, there is a word to be said for the Agnostic, even if he may be blamed in a general way, for neglecting the social aspect of religion. There is no reason why he should not make

for himself a secret shrine with two mules' burden of earth from the holy land of sincerity, and yet bow down in attendance on King Demos in the House of Rimmon. But, perhaps, if the Prophet had known all, there may have been some things among the Rimmonites which might, with advantage, have been reformed.

In using the word "sincerity" there is no intention to impute any personal defect in that matter to the office-bearers of any denomination. Human they are, partaking of human temptations, among which we must expect to find conventionality, timidity, and vested interests. Due allowance being made for these, it will be the experience of most of us that these men are often unselfish and devoted labourers in the fields of the great Harvest. Nevertheless, such defects as have been noticed here must be active agents in promoting a tendency to routine and cant. If, in the effort to redeem the Agnostic by making the service of the churches a little more pleasant for him, our religious observances could be brought a little more up to date, a wholesome element of genuine earnestness would be introduced which might not be wholly devoid of benefit even to the most orthodox believer. He might, just at first, miss that blessed word Mesopotamia; his wife would, almost certainly. But both of them ought to find their compensation in the increased attendance on the means of grace of young and eager manhood, now too much estranged.*

H. G. KEENE.

* The writer is acquainted with a church in one of the London suburbs in which this has actually occurred in recent years, the place being proprietary and the minister his own master.

ART. IX.—VEDIC INDIA.

THE people who, descending from the north, drove the aboriginal races of India into the deserts and mountain recesses, or reduced them to bondage, called themselves *Arya*, that is, 'the noble,' 'the honourable,' or 'the ruling,' in contradistinction to *Anarya*, the "ignoble," or servile." They are so styled in their venerable hymnal—the Rig Veda—, the oldest existing monument of their language and poetry, as well as of their early settlement in the Punjab. The immigration of the Aryas into the plains of the Punjab took place from the west. They bear the closest resemblance to the inhabitants of the table-land of Irán, and their language has an intimate connexion with that of the Avesta, the religious books of Irán. It bears a close analogy to the language of the monuments of Darius and Xerxes in the western half of Persia. In the Parsi scriptures we find the same race styled Airya. The ancient Persian tablets lately deciphered call it Ariya and the Scythian tablets Arriya. The very name Airan, or Irán, by which Persia is called by the natives has obviously its origin in Ariana or Airyana, derived from Aria or Airya, the name of the tribe, the common ancestors alike of the fire-worshippers of Irán and the Brahma worshippers of Indra. The Greeks call the tribe Ariori, which is connected with the root *ari* (Latin *Arare*, to plough), signifying that the primitive people were tillers of the earth, as distinguished from the nomadic Turanians. Traces of this root are to be met with in many Aryan countries, from Eran (Irán, or Persia) to Erin or Ireland. The agreement of the authorities as to the origin of the word Arya is remarkable, and this, coupled with the common origin of words used in daily family life in European and Indian languages, points unmistakeably to the common origin and genealogical relationship of the nations who speak them, separated though they may be by long distances.

Just as, in the kindred science which treats of the structure and mineral constitution of the globe, a geologist describes the different strata which compose the crust of the globe, their order of succession, the characteristic forms of their animal and vegetable life, the causes of the earth's physical features and its history, so comparative philology, by a process of reasoning analogous to that followed in the sister science, enables the ethnologist to spell out the records of the past and

obtain a glimpse into the thick clouds which overhang the dawn of ages. The finger of Nature herself has written on the rock-tablets of the earth's strata what changes it has undergone from a time even before man was created. Languages serve for ethnologists the same purpose which the earth's strata serve for geologists, and it has been rightly observed that dead languages are to the latter like fossils and petrifications.

Words current in a language may, further, be most appropriately compared to coins current in daily life. Just as coins enable the antiquarian, from the impression of Sovereigns' heads and other marks and inscriptions on them, to trace many forgotten landmarks in ancient history, so words spoken

Common origin of by people enable linguists, from their words spoken in different affinities and the resemblances of their languages.

roots and derivations, to prove the common origin of nations now far severed and disunited. The resemblance is most striking in the words used to denote near blood relationship, the deity, and articles of daily use. Thus, father, in English, is *fádar* in Anglo-Saxon, *fader* in Danish, *fader* in Goth, *vader* in Dutch, *fatar* in Germany, *vater* in North Germany, *pater* in Latin, *pudar* in Persian, and *pita* in Sanskrit. The English word mother is represented by the old English *moder*, old Saxon *mödar*, German *moder*, Dutch *moedar*, Latin *māter*, Russian *maty*, Irish *mathair*, French *mere*, Persian *mādar*, Sanskrit *mātā*. Nearly the same is the case with the names for brother, sister and the like. The English word 'widow,' used to denote a woman who has lost her husband by death and has not taken another, is derived from the Sanskrit word *Viḍhava*, from *vi*, meaning without and *dhṛvā*, husband, namely, one bereaved of a husband. It is in Latin *vidua*, in Prussian *widdewa*, in Goth *viduvo* and in Germany *wedewe*. The English word daughter owes its origin to the Sanskrit word *duhtri*, derived from the root *duh*, milk, meaning little milk-maid, that being the special part assigned to a daughter in the domestic economy of the primitive Aryans. It is the Anglo-Saxon *dohtor*, *dohter*, old Saxon *dohitar*, Dutch *Dogter*, *dochter*, Swedish *dolter*, Danish *dolter*, *dalter*, Goth *dauhtar* and German *dochter*, all closely resembling one another. The English word sew, which, as a transitive verb, means to unite or fasten together by stitches, is in Anglo-Saxon *siowian* and *siwian*, in old high German *siuwan*, in Icelandic *syju*, Swedish, *sy*, Danish *sy*, Goth *siujan*, Russian *shite*, Latin *suere*, Sanskrit *siv* and Urdu *sina*, words all closely resembling one another. Mouth, in English, is *mun* in Swedish, and *munh* in Urdu. *Raja*, a Hindi word meaning prince, or king, is akin to the Latin *rex* a King. The word deity, meaning God or Supreme Being,

is derived from the Sanskrit root *Div*, to shine ; hence the Bright one, the Indian *Deva*, the Latin *Deus*, or Divinity, and the French *divin*. It is the *Zeus* of the Greeks, the *Tiu* of the Saxons and the *Zio* of the Germans. The Persian word *badnam* means exactly the same thing as the English 'bad name,' the Persian *bad* being equivalent to the English *bad*, and what is *nam* in one language being *name* in the other. Cow, the object of great reverence to the orthodox Hindú from the earliest ages, is *gow* in Sanskrit, *gdo* in Persian, *kuo* in Germany, and *beva* in Latin. Moon in English is *máh* in Persian and *mas* in Sanskrit. In all the languages of Europe the name is almost identical.

There are common terms for house, yard, garden, city and citadel ; common words for cattle, horses, birds, sheep, goats, mice, ducks, geese, dogs and cats ; common roots for corn, fruit, wool, flax or hemp ; for metals, such as iron, copper, &c. ; for weaving, grinding and ploughing ; for tools and weapons ; for waggons and boats, and the division of time according to days, months and years. Words are our common possession and, heritage. The similarity of words used in daily life in languages spoken by nations so remotely situated from each other, indicates, without doubt, that at some very remote period of antiquity those nations belonged to one common stock, and that of Indo-European or Indo-German origin. The Brahman, the Jat, the Rajput and the Englishman alike have descended from that stock. They lived in one region, spoke the same tongue and worshipped the same gods. All belong to one noble race, the Arya, whose primitive seat, according

to the concurrent testimony afforded by linguistic monuments, was in Central Asia,* east of the Caspian and north of the Hindukush, the Paropamisus of the ancients. The region is pointed out as the earliest centre of civilised life. The traces of Sanskrit in European languages are proof, again, that the great migration took place from Central Asia, the home of Vedic Sanskrit ; for, if the exodus had taken place from Europe to Asia, or, as observed by Professor Max Müller, from Scandinavia, " we should naturally look in the common Aryan language for a number of words connected with maritime life." But we have no such words. There is no general name for fish in Sanskrit, nor for any particular fish ; nor even is there a common name for the sea. From that earliest home (Central Asia), the common camping ground visible to history, in obedience to

*According to Professor Max Müller, " we have two streams of language, one tending south-east to India, and the other north-west to Europe. The point where these two streams naturally intersect, points to Asia."

the law of movement which has operated in all periods of the world's history, certain branches of the mother nations migrated to the east; others to the west. The migration, as is evidenced from the Vedas, the earliest records of Hindu language and literature, continued for generations, and the opposite routes they adopted formed the two great ethnological divisions of mankind geographically separated from each other,

the one called the Eastern and the other the Western. After the two branches once separated, they never met again.

The Eastern branch comprehends the inhabitants of Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan and Northern India; and the Western offshoot, the inhabitants of Europe, with the exception of Turkey, Hungary and Lapland. One branch of the former traversed the heights of Armenia; another penetrated into the table-land of Asia Minor; one offshoot, which worshipped the Asuras, laid the foundations of the ancient Persian monarchy and became the Medes of history, while powerful bands made their way to the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges; they worshipped the Devas and became there the forefathers of the Brahmans and the Rajputs of to-day.

Some of the offshoots of the tribes who proceeded to the West, occupied the plains above the Black Sea, others, settling in Greece, built Athens, while a distant colony took its seat in Italy and reared up the city on the Seven Hills which developed itself into Imperial Rome. The nations who settled in Northern and Central Europe were called the Teutonic peoples. The streams that took the route by the north of the Caspian were called the Slavonic nations. Swarms of the same branch made their way to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, penetrated into the western coast of the Spanish Peninsula, spread themselves into Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia and advanced as far as the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic Ocean. These came to be called the Celtic nations.

Under what circumstances these Aryans left their primitive home is, and will ever remain, in the dark. Beyond their existence and locality before separation, nothing can be affirmed with any degree of certainty, though ethnologists have made an attempt at drawing a picture of the Aryan life and home before they divided. That a sweeping exodus did take place from Central Asia in remote antiquity, is rendered highly probable by the occurrence of ethnic waves in later times from the same camping-ground, Asia. This we see evidenced by the migration of the Huns in the fourth, and the Mongols in the thirteenth, century in boundless numbers like the locusts

With respect to the similarity of certain words spoken by

nations of the west and east, it must be admitted that, beyond glimpses into the state of their social organisation, nothing can be inferred from the groups of words common to them, nevertheless these objects of common heritage give a fair idea of the state of thought, language, religion and civilisation of the ancient Aryans. Besides the blood relations, father, mother, brother, sister, daughter, they had the conventional relationships of father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law. The father was looked upon as the head and protector of the family, while the mother nourished young children and looked after domestic duties. She was the mistress of the house. The daughter milked the cow and took care of cattle.

The Aryans domesticated many useful animals. The ox, the cow, the bull, the goat, the sheep, the horse, the dog, the cat, the swine, had all been domesticated. The beasts of the forests, the wolf, the jackal, the bear, the hare, the dreaded serpent and the birds of prey, the feathered game, the quail, the crane, the pigeon, the duck, the goose, the raven, the cuckoo, and other kinds were familiar to the Aryans. The industrial arts were still in a state of infancy; but a commencement had been already made.

Gold and silver ornaments were known, and, with the simplicity peculiar to primitive men, they called gold yellow and silver white. So, gold and silver. The females adorned their person with jewels of a rude kind.

The ancient Aryans reared cattle and led a pastoral life, roaming over grassy plains and verdant steppes in quest of habitations and fodder for their herds. The ox and the cow constituted their chief riches. The patriarchs of families roamed about in search of pastures and reared cattle. Pûshan was the god of shepherds, viewed by them as the sun and credited with protecting their life and property in their travels and wanderings over the country in quest of fresh pasture-lands. He rides on a chariot drawn by goats, protects men and beasts, and guides people in their journeys. He has thorough knowledge of the flocks and herds and gives light to the shepherds from above. But, though the primitive races led a nomad life, there is more frequent reference in the Rig Veda to agriculture than to pasture. They tilled land for agriculture and were familiar with the use of the plough and the implements of husbandry. It was probably on this account that they were called Arya, which also

But their chief occupation was agriculture.

means cultivator. Allusion is made to 'the fastening of the ploughs,' 'the spreading out of the yokes,' the use of 'scythes in fields when the corn is ripe,' and the 'stacking of corn' in the fields, processes in vogue in agriculture to the present day.

The primitive arts were well known to the Aryans.

Arts known to them. They were acquainted with the use of metals, raised grain and ground it into meal, ate cooked food, knew the art of spinning, weaving, and sewing, and wore garments of woollen fabrics, furs, skins and coarse cloth. Women were for the most part employed in the work of weaving. One Rishi is described in the Rig Veda as lamenting his want of knowledge of religious rites, thus : "I know not the warp and I know not the woof of religious rites." IV, 9, 2.

In the eleventh chapter it is stated allegorically, with reference to worship:—"That victim who was woven with threads on every side and stretched by the labours of a hundred and one gods; the fathers who wove and framed and set the warp and woof, do worship." These and other passages prove that the art of weaving was known among the Aryans from the earliest times. They knew also the art of bleaching the wool of sheep and how to weave it, X, 26, 6.

They built houses and lived in villages (grama) and towns. The numerals were known to them as far as one hundred. They built roads and constructed boats for communication and petty trade. Carpentry was known, and dyeing with colours was common.

There were barbers in every village, as there are now. So there were ironsmiths and carpenters who made chariots of different sizes and value. Mention exists in the Rig Veda of the work done by ironsmiths and goldsmiths, and the names are given of golden jewels and iron utensils and implements of war. For instance, mention is made of armour and gold helmets, and of armour for the shoulders and arms. The javelin is compared in brilliancy with lightning. Glowing mention is made of swords, spear, battle axes (*Bashu*), bow, quivers and arrows. The art of war was, of course,

War.

in its infancy, and the weapons used in primitive times were of bone, stone, wood and metal.

War chariots and kettle-drums are mentioned in connection with warfare. The warriors wore

War Chariots. 'golden breast-plates.' Horses are mentioned with 'golden caparisons' used by princes and commanders of troops. Among golden ornaments mention is

Ornaments. made of *niksha*, a jewel worn on the neck, *sraṭ* a kind of necklace, anklets, rings or chains worn on the feet (*pāṇeb*), and crowns for the head of different shapes and sizes.

A form of Government existed and there were patriarchs of tribes, and tribal heads and leaders of communities, who directed the actions of sections of the people belonging to certain tracts of the country, or distinguished from the rest for certain peculiarities. Such leaders, or heads, were called the shining Chiefs, or Rajas.

Professor Max Müller, in his excellent essay on Comparative Mythology, observes that, while words connected with peaceful occupations are common not only in Greek and Latin, but in all Aryan languages, they differ widely in denoting warlike expressions. From this he concludes that the Aryan races had a long life of peace before separation, and that it was not until after they migrated from their mother-country in quest of new homes that new dialects connected with warlike and adventurous life sprung up. The great scholar Niebuhr expressed the same view. It is for a similar reason that domesticated animals have the same names in England and India, while wild beasts are known by different names even in Greek and Latin.

Being fresh from a cold country, the Aryans were of fair complexion. The recollections of cold and snow peculiar to their mother-country were highly pleasing to their imaginations, and in their prayers to the gods they solicited no greater boon than one hundred winters. One of their great gods was the Indus, which they called *Sindhu* in the Vedas. They prayed to it for the increase of their cattle and the fertility of their lands. "May Sindhu, the renowned bestower of wealth, hear us and fertilize our broad fields with water," such was the invocation of the old Aryans to the river deity. The Vedic hymns are loud in praises of Aryan heroes who drove the aboriginal tribes to the south, or to the recesses of the Himalayan mountains. Some of the Gauda-Dravidians offered a determined resistance to the Brahminical tribes descending from the north and were able to maintain their ground against the successive waves of their invasion. Others, who were unable to resist successfully their northern foes, submitted to them, and became servile, or emigrated southwards. There is, however, evidence to show that the vanquished Dravidians did not at once adopt the superior

They fail to impress the aboriginal tribes with their superior civilisation.

civilization of their conquerors; for linguists have found obvious differences between synthetic Sanskrit and concrete Dravidian, the construction

of words in the former language being clearly distinguishable from those of Aryanised languages such as Mahratti, Bengali, &c.

In the Bible, the first book of Kings, X, 22, we read : " For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram ; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks." The Hebrew word for peacock used in the Bible is *Tukkiyyin*, derived from the Dravidian word *Toka*, *Tokai*, or *Togai*, signifying peacock's tail, or peacock. The word for peacock in Tamil, Telugu, Gondu, Malayalam, Kanarese, &c., all aboriginal tribes, is similar, and this shows that, as early as the time when the sailors of Solomon and Hiram sailed to the Indian coasts to buy commodities, Gauda-Dravidian words were used and that no Aryan names were given to them. Sandalwood, called *valgu* in different places in the Bible, is another Indian commodity known to the ancients ; and the word seems to be a derivation of *Almuggin*, or *Algummin*, Sanskrit words. Rice, produced in India in great quantity, was, in old times, presumably, exported to Greece from India ; for the Greek word *oryza*, meaning rice, is identified by scholars with the Tamil word *arisi*, signifying rice deprived of the husk, it being in this state that the rice was exported. Rice cakes in Telugu are called *ariselu*. The Sanskrit word for rice, *vrihi*, has no analogy to the Greek word *oryza* or the Dravidian word *arisi*. Hence it is clear that, in the remotest antiquity, when Indian commodities were exported to foreign countries by sea, Aryan civilisation had either obtained no footing at all in the country invaded, or the invaders had failed to adopt it to the condition of the people subdued by them.

It has been shown that the Aryans who, having left the plateau of Central Asia, dispersed to the east and west, possessed a civilisation not inferior to that of the people they reduced to subjection, and that this hypothesis held good so far at least as India was concerned. The branch of them who colonised Greece excelled, in the art of architecture, the Semites, or the Turanians, in any part of the world. Some have supposed that the Greek conquest of India left a Greek mark on Indian architecture and sculpture. That this theory does not hold good, is evidenced by the fact that sculptures have been found in Kashmere and other parts of the Panjab bearing no marks of Greek influence of a period antecedent to the time of Buddha. Even the pillars of Asoka exhibit no such

marks, and are perfectly independent of the Greek art of five centuries B. C. From the top to the base their design, whether of ornamentation or of general adaptability, is purely original, showing an entire absence of foreign taste or style, and the only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from this is that, centuries before the time of Asoka, the art of architecture and sculpture, which go hand in hand, must have been brought to perfection in India, and that by no foreign agency except that of the Aryan settlers of the country. Many of the pillars of Asoka exhibit considerable taste in the dressing of stone, and are surmounted by capitals of exquisite beauty and elegance. Their very existence in such a state of perfection about a century before the Macedonian conquest of the Panjab, is proof that the art flourished several centuries before it. There is nothing in them of Doric, Ionic or Corinthian origin and design. It may, therefore, be fairly assumed that the Aryans of India were a building race. Mr. Sherring thinks it probable that the Aryans of India, who had intercourse with the people of the west as far as Egypt, must have heard of the vast structures which adorn that country, their gorgeous and splendid palaces, pillars, and other monuments, and, as they were not wanting in genius and taste for architecture, they imitated the Assyrian monarchs in adorning their cities with palaces and other edifices.* Certain it is that a taste for architecture seems inherent in the ancient Aryans; for the periodical rains of India, and the extremes of heat and cold at particular seasons of the year, render the erection of edifices a matter, not of mere show, or luxury, but of necessity, for kings, governors and men of high social position.

Specimens of architecture of a date older than Asoka (257 B. C.) have been found in many parts of India. The caves of Udayágiri have been found to belong to the period of the Nanda kings, before the time of Alexander's invasion, and, according to General Cunningham, the stone walls of old Raja Griha or Kusagárápura, the capital of Bimbisara, the contemporary of Buddha, as well as the Baithak, or throne, of Jarasandhu, and the Baibhar, or Asura and Sonbhandár caves, all belong to the Aryan period and date back as early as 500 B. C. The stones of the throne of Jarasandhu are not dressed; but great care and ingenuity are displayed in their putting together, and the stability and solidity of the structures is such that, although twenty-four centuries have elapsed, they are still in a perfectly sound condition. The caves of Khundagiri and

* Sherring's Sacred City of the Hindus.

Behar and the bas-reliefs of Sānchi are other instances of Aryan working in stone. They bear no marks of Egyptian, Greek, Assyrian or Persian design or origin.

The hymns of the Rig Veda, the oldest monument of Aryan

Mention of cities.

chivalry, make frequent mention of cities (*pura*) as distinct from villages, (*grama*) and mention is made of kings who owned a 'hundred cities.' The Asuras are described as owning spacious iron 'walled cities.' Both Agni and Indra are credited with having destroyed the cities of the Asuras. The cities of Sambara are described as comprising 'stone,' and as being 'plastered,' indicating that lime or mortar was freely used to render the stones adhesive and to turn the structure into one compact and solid mass of building.

The ancient history of the Hindus cannot be traced from

Sources of ancient history of the Hindus.

records on paper, or inscriptions on stone, or writing on papyrus or leaves; but that history was inscribed for centuries on the tablets of the brains of the people, and from generation to generation descended from father to son, from a religious preceptor or master to his disciple and pupil, as a sacred inheritance. The Vedic period was a period of war, of valour, and of enterprise. The Aryas who, descending from the north, settled the north-western plains of India, observed

Distinction of caste unknown.

no distinction of caste or creed. Any distinction which existed was between the Aryan comers and the aborigines.

There were no temples or shrines, and worship was made and sacrifices offered in open spaces.

The Vedic period comprised from 2000 to 1400 B. C. The

The vedic period 2000 to 1400 B. C.

Aryas of that period were familiar with only the Sindhú (or modern Indus) and its five tributary streams, now included in the Panjab. Having reached the valley of the Ganges, the Aryan emigrants spread westward as far as Tirhoot. They became the founders of powerful kingdoms and dynasties in those regions and applied themselves diligently to the cultivation of science and literature. This was called the epic period and

The epic period 1400 to 1000 B. C.

it extended from 1400 to 1000 B. C. Of the tribes and dynasties who flourished in the valley of the Ganges, there are many who make a conspicuous appearance in the epic literature. In the neighbourhood of modern Delhi flourished the kingdom of the Pándus. Further to the south and east, the Panchalas inhabited the country near Kannouj. The Kosálás lived in the country between the Ganges and Gandak now comprised in modern Oudh. From Gandak, further on, the

country was peopled by the Wadhias, and is now called Tirhut. The Kansis lived in the tract of country now known as Benares. These are the most prominent tribes of ancient times, though other powerful tribes flourished from time to time.

We have already alluded to the fact that the Aryan settlers of India were a race given to agriculture. The chief occupations, then, of the early Aryans were two—to cultivate in order to live and subsist, and to destroy the Dasyus, or aborigines, to give permanency to that living. This is evidenced by the following significant passage in the Rig Veda, given in the form of a prayer :—

“O, ye Asvin ! Ye have displayed your power and glory by teaching Aryas to cultivate by means of the plough, and to sow corn, and ye have given copious rains to allow the seed to grow and afford food, and it is due to your mighty thunderbolt that the Dasyus are destroyed.”

The venerable hymnal, the Rig Veda (from Veda an old Aryan word meaning inspired knowledge) is the oldest monument of Aryan settlement and Aryan chivalry. Hardly any known work in the literature of mankind can claim such hoary antiquity as the Rig Veda of the Hindus. The picture it draws of their earliest civilisation, the flood of light it throws on their ancient religion, their modes of thought and living, and the unique lessons it imparts, render it deeply interesting. Long before the religion of Sakya, or Buddha, arose, in the 6th century B. C., the Vedic religion was at work. The Hindus ascribe to the Veda a supernatural origin and maintain that it existed ‘before all time.’

* European scholars calculate, on astronomical data, that the later poems were composed about 1400 B. C. The work of migration extended over centuries. The earliest hymns represent the Indo-Aryans as merging from their abodes across the snow-clad Himalayas. Then we see them crossing the steppes of the Hindu Kush and making their way to the north-western frontier of India. The latest songs bring them to the delta of

* The popular tales regarding the antiquity and origin of the Vedas led Dara Shekoh, the first son and the true heir of Shah Jahân, a free-thinker of the Sufia sect, to have parts of the Vedas translated into the Persian language, from which extracts were translated into Hindi. A transcript of the Vedas was obtained from Jeypur by Colonel Polier, who deposited it in the British Museum, London. Fragments of the Indian scripture were obtained at the same time by Sir Robert Chalmers, while General Martine, at a later period, succeeded in procuring some parts. Valuable portions were obtained by Sir William Jones who translated several curious passages, and Professor Colebrook collected at Benares the text and commentary of a large portion of these books.

the Ganges. Their victorious march from the north can be traced in the Vedic hymns almost stage by stage.

The composers of the Vedas were certain families of Rishis, or psalmists, the names of some of whom are preserved. Other hymns are named after particular minstrels. They have

The composer of the Vedas. been preserved by tradition, having descended from father to son, and are chiefly addressed to the gods. They comprise 1,017 hymns, or 10,580 verses. The hymns of the Rig Veda are divided into ten Mandalás, each of which is sub-divided with reference to the Rishis, or Saints, who have composed the hymns. The first and the last Mandalás have been composed by many Rishis, but the remaining eight have been composed each by a special Rishi, that is, by special families or schools of Rishis. It is, no doubt, due to the families of these Rishis and other revered and illustrious ancient families that this very ancient literary monument of the old Aryans was bequeathed to posterity. Century after century have these hymns been inherited by succeeding generations without remission or interval. Young people of priestly families spent their early life in committing to memory the hymns which they had heard from the lips of their hoary headed ancestors. With the lapse of time, these priests grasped more fully the mysteries of creation and penetrated into the hidden works of nature so far as human wisdom helped them, and became thus the cause of the worship of nature-gods and their recognition as supreme deities, which lessons the sacred hymns so strongly inculcate. Being supposed to have been revealed at different times, they were arranged in their present order by a sage who obtained the surname *Vyasa*, or *Vedavyasa*, literally compiler of the Vedas. He distributed

The four Vedas, the Vedas into four parts, entitled the Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajush Veda and Atharva Veda. According to Manu, the great Indian law-giver, the Rig Veda originated from fire, the Sama Veda from the sun, and the Yajush Veda from the air. He does not mention the fourth or *Atharva*, as a Veda, though he alludes to it in his text. Other Sanskrit authors count it among the scriptures. There is no doubt that some portions of it at least are as old as the three other compilations, and its name existed prior to the arrangements worked out by the sage Vyasa. There is yet a fifth Veda named *Itihasa* and *Puranas*, consisting of diverse mythological poems, treated as a supplement to the text and as such reckoned as a fifth Veda.* The first three

* During the period of Brahman supremacy, every priest was bound to recollect the Vedas by heart, and learned priests derived titles from the number of the Vedas with which they were familiar. A priest who re-

Vedas are distinguished not only according to their origin and antiquity but according to their use and purport. Those which contain the precepts are called the *Brahmanas*. They inculcate religious duties and comprise maxims defining and explaining these precepts by arguments and illustrations. The other collection, denominated the *mantras*, comprises hymns and prayers. These were recited by priests at solemn rites as invocations, or as praises to propitiate the deity, or as prayers for the atonement of sins, or the bestowal of children, riches, cattle and abundant harvest. Such of the Vedas as are in metre are styled *Rig*,* those which are in prose are called *Yajush*; those specially intended for being chanted are styled *Sáman*.

According to the Puránás and other authorities, after the sage Vyasa had arranged the Vedas, he taught the different scriptures to several of his disciples. Thus, he taught the *Rig* to Paila, the *Yajush* to Vaisampayana, the *Sama* to Jaimini, the *Atharvana* to Sumantú, and the *Itihasa* and *Puránás* to Suta. These students communicated the special Vedas of which they had acquired knowledge to their respective pupils, who, in their turn, taught them to their disciples, and so on, until numerous schools, providing different methods of reading and reciting, arose.

The *Yajush* Vedas are divided into two sub-divisions, the white and black. A strange legend is related in the *Vishnu Puráná* relating to this distinction. It is said that the sage Vaisampayana, to whom the knowledge of the *Yajush* Vedas had been originally communicated, had the misfortune once unintentionally to kill his own sister's son. When he began to instruct *Yajnya Walcyá*, one of his chosen disciples, in the scriptures, in order that he might, in his turn, teach them to other disciples, he asked him to take upon himself a portion of the sin committed by his preceptor. This the disciple having refused to do, the revengeful preceptor ordered his pupil to disgorge the knowledge he had learnt. He immediately obeyed

collected one Veda received no title, for he was supposed to have done merely his duty. But one who was conversant with two Vedas was called *Dui Veda*; he who knew three Vedas, was denominated *Tri-Vedi*, and he who was versed in four Vedas was called *Choutar-Vedi*. In course of time, these titles of honour came to be regarded as the surnames of families among the Brahmins of Kanauj, and, according to the vulgar expression, they are now called *Dobe*, *Tiware* and *Choubé*.

* *Rig* is derived from the Shastri word *Rich*, meaning to laud. It signifies any prayer or hymn in praise of the deity. The *Sanhita*, or complete collection of the hymns and prayers, is for the most part encomiastic, and is hence called the *Rig*, or *Rich*, Veda.

his master's command, whereupon the rest of Vaisampayana's disciples, picking up the disgorged Vedas, swallowed them in their wet form. These disciples assumed the shape of partridges, and the Vedas with which they were enlightened through the act of swallowing, were for this reason called black. They are also styled *Titrya*, or *Titri*, meaning partridge.

The displeasure of the preceptor to which Yajnya Walcyā had been subjected overwhelmed him with grief, and, being divested of his treasure, he, in his disappointment, prayed the great luminary for the gift of a new revelation of the Yajush. The luminary granted his prayer, and the Vedas revealed to him were denominated white, or pure, in contra-distinction to black. The Yajur Veda comprises prayers to be recited at sacrifices offered to the gods at the full and increasing and waning moon; regulations relating to the consecration of a perpetual fire and the sacrifice of victims; the ceremony of drinking the juice of the acid asclepias; prayers to be used at the Aswamedha, or ceremony emblematic of the sacrifice of a horse or other animal by a king ambitious of universal empire; prayers and oblations for unfailing fortune and success; obsequies in commemoration of a deceased ancestor, and prayers suited for various religious rites, such as sacraments, penance, lustrations, &c.

The authorship of some of the Vedas is ascribed to persons of royal birth and to the kings themselves. There are dialogues between kings and queens, between kings and their bond-maids. Sometimes author kings praise their own munificence. For instance, in the eighth book, Asanga was metamorphosed into a woman, but through the prayers of a saint he was restored to his own sex. He rewarded the saint most munificently, and, in the hymns composed by him, has praised his own liberality. Towards the close of the invocation, his wife, Sawasti, expresses her joy at the king's retrieving his sex.

There is a hymn to water by a king named Sindhua Wipa, and a remarkable hymn by a king named Asamati, who, having deserted his former priest, took to the discipleship of another. The resentful forsaken preceptor recited incantations for the destruction of his deserter royal disciple, but the new priest intervened and counteracted the evil design of the wrathful sage by reciting hymns which caused the death of the former and the preservation of the disciple king. (Chaps. I and VII, Mandalā X.)

Some of the kings were well versed in the Vedantas, or the science of the knowledge of God. It

Kings versed in the Vedantas.

is related of a king of Kansī (modern Benares), named Ajatasatru, that he was

once visited by a priest of high renown, named Gargya, from his ancestor Garga. The priest was conceited and loquacious.

Dialogue between a king and a priest. Having been admitted to the royal presence, he offered to his majesty to communicate to him the knowledge of

God. The king rewarded him munificently for this offer, and a day was appointed for discourse between the royal host and the sage. The dissertation began with the question who was worthy of worship by man. The priest maintained that he worshipped, or recognised as God, that being who manifests himself in the sun, who sparkles in lightning, is apparent in the etherial elements, who shines in fire, floats in the air, exists in water, is reflected in the mirror, occupies and covers all the regions of space, is apparent in shade, is above, beneath and surrounds all and is the mainstay of the soul itself. The king, who was himself a profound scholar in theology, spoke eloquently on the subject and raised many points involving deep thought and high erudition. The high priest, who had come with the avowed object of enlightening the king and to unfold to him the mysteries of creation, was impressed with the intellectual and spiritual powers possessed by his Majesty, and, as he remained silent, the king asked him, whether that was all he had to say. 'That was all, your Majesty,' replied the high pontiff, on which the king rejoined: 'But all you have said is not sufficient for a knowledge of God.' Having heard this, Gargya proposed to the king that if his Majesty would be pleased, he would take him to his discipleship. The king replied: 'It would be upsetting universally admitted order, were a priest to go to a soldier in quest of a knowledge of divine nature; all that I am in a position to do is to make you certain suggestions.' Saying this, the king rose, and taking the priest by the hand, walked to a place where a man was sleeping. He called the sleeper by various appellations, but he was in such a deep sleep that loud cries would not restore him to consciousness. He, therefore, stirred the man, and, when he awoke, said to the priest: "While this man was fast asleep, where had his soul, which comprises intellect, gone? and when he awoke, whence it came back?" Gargya was unable to answer, whereupon the king made a long speech to explain the nature and functions of the soul and mind as they are expounded in the doctrines of the *Vedanta*.

As the three principal Vedas emanated from the three great

The Aryan notions of the deity. elements of nature, so the principal Aryan deities are three, namely, Agni, fire, Vayú, air, Surya, the sun; and the lord of the creatures (Prajapati) is their deity collectively. All other deities, variously named from their different opera-

tions, such as moon, earth, spirits, and atmosphere, are their essence. The great deity is the *great soul*, (Maha Atma), or the sun. It would thus appear that the ancient Aryan religion recognised but one God, the Creator of all beings.

Aditi is the name given by the primitive men to the deity. It means the 'undivided,' 'the unlimited,' 'the eternal.' It denotes the visible infinite, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. It is called the celestial light. The sons of this light are the Adityas, Varuna—the sun, Mitra—the moon, Indra—the rain god, and others not definitely named, but known by their actions. The great deity was recognised in the sun.

It is in the Rig Veda called Surya, the rising sun, and Savitri, the bright sun of the day. The Gayatri of the Rig Veda is dedicated to the sun god. One of the morning hymns says: "We meditate on the desirable light of the divine Savitri, who influences our pious rites."

The primitive men, in their simplicity, bowed their heads before every object of nature which appeared to them grand and sublime, bright and glorious; which inspired majesty, awe or wonder; which possessed immaculate beauty and grace, in the phenomena of nature; or which possessed the dreaded power of destruction and annihilation. The gorgeous sun and the shining moon, the brilliant stars and the bright sky first received attention and were adored and worshipped. They were personified and extolled; hymns were composed in their praise, and sung with all the devotion and fervour of an enthusiast and with gratitude. Thunder, and lightning, storms, clouds and rain, all received worship. Varuna, the god of the sky, received pre-eminent sanctity because it brought rain so essential for the growth of a luxuriant crop. 'Its unsullied power remained in the firmament and it held on high the rays of light.' Indra, from Ind—to rain, which signifies the rain-giver, became then one of the principal Vedic gods. The blushing dawn was compared to a bride just appearing with all her charms, in her choice garments, and about to unveil her beautiful face. She is compared to a busy housewife who, at an early hour of the day, awakes from sleep and sends men to work for the benefit of the household. Fire, earth, and death each received reverence, were propitiated, worshipped and dreaded. Rudra, the supreme destroyer, became the terrible god. Yámá, the Vedic god of death, became the

nekropompos, or guide to the invisible world. He was the first man who tasted death in old times, when woe and sickness were unknown. According to a Zend legend, on the earth becoming polluted

with sin and disease, this old king retired with a selected band of his councillors and dependents, and now reigns in the heavenly kingdom. He has let loose two dogs with 'broad nostrils,' and 'black and spotted,' to prey upon men. He is offered oblations and is regarded as the 'assembler of people.' Rig Veda X, 14, 1.

The Vedas contain prayers to the deity, hymns addressed by the sages to divinities, incantations against the effects of venom, mantras to be chanted on the occasion of innumerable ceremonies enjoined to householders and repeated in connexion with numerous rites, rituals to be used and ceremonies to be performed at various stages of celebrations and observance of customs relating to sacrifice, marriage, death, &c. The following is a prayer offered to the sun god :—

'This new and excellent praise of thee, O splendid, playful, Sun (Pushan)! is offered by us to thee. Be gratified by this my speech : approach this craving mind, as a fond man seeks a woman. May that Sun (Pushan) who contemplates and looks into all worlds, be our protector.

'Let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine ruler (*Savitri*). May it guide our intellects. Desirous of food, we solicit the gift of the splendid Sun (*Savitri*), who should be studiously worshipped. Venerable men, guided by the understanding, salute the divine sun with oblations and praise.'

Prayer to the guardian spirit of a dwelling-house. The following prayer is addressed to the guardian spirit of a dwelling-house :—

'Guardian of this abode ! be acquainted with us, be to us a wholesome dwelling ; afford us what we ask of thee, and grant happiness to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Guardian of this house ! increase both us and our wealth. Moon ! while thou art friendly, may we, with our kine and our horses, be exempted from decrepitude : guard us as a father protects his offspring. Guardian of this dwelling ! may we be united with a happy, delightful and harmonious abode afforded by thee ; guard our wealth now under our protection, or yet in expectancy, and do thou defend us.'

In the fortieth chapter of the Aitareya Brahmaná are prayers for the destruction of enemies. The following prayer was supposed to have the effect of destroying foes, enemies and rivals, if it was uttered with due rites and solemnities :—" Lightning disappears when it has once flashed and is followed by copious rain ; it vanishes and no body knows where it is gone. Similarly, when a man dies, he vanishes and no one can tell where his soul is gone. Therefore, when lightning disappears, repeat the following prayer :—

‘May my enemy disappear ; may he perish and no body know where he is gone.’ ‘Rain, having fallen, disappears ; the moon at the conjunction disappears ; the sun, when setting, disappears ; the flames of fire ascending in the air disappear ; so may the enemy vanish and disappear.’ Therefore pronounce the prayer,” &c.

The Vedas describe the Aryans of ancient India as a people given to religious practice and observances. From sunrise to sunset, and to the time of sleep, and, in short, from the cradle to the grave, there was hardly any action of life, public or private, which was unattended by a religious ceremony. *Mantras* were recited, pieces of sacred music sung, and passages from the Vedas chanted, as a man, rising from his bed, set his foot on the floor of the house, as he washed his face and cleaned his teeth with a twig of jungle tree, as he poured water on his head and body to purify himself, as he stepped out of the doorway of his house on business, as he partook of his meals, and as he did any work in the course of the day or during the night. At the time of offering oblations to their gods by way of propitiating them, or awakening the souls of their dead ancestors, or at the time of sacrifices, the rituals were observed on a large and magnificent scale, the priests presiding over them.

As agriculture formed the chief means of subsistence, there was a god of agriculture called the lord of the field. Cows, milk, cattle, ploughs, furrows, rain, water and corn, seem to have been the objects of earnest attention. Of these only did the early Aryans think in their daily life, and of these they dreamt while asleep. Night and day, copious rain, abundant crops, plenty of cows, and sweet and pure milk were prayed for from the field deity. ‘May the lord of the field help us in nourishing our cattle and our horses, and may he thus shower blessings on us.’ The Lord of water was invoked with the prayer for rain : ‘May the lord of water bless us with pure, sweet, butter-like and delicious, abundant rain.’ The furrow was thus invoked : ‘O propitious furrow ! flow gently and smoothly onwards ; hear our prayer ; endow us with abundant wealth and a rich harvest.’

One remarkable fact apparent from the Vedas is the employment in Vedic times of horses for the purposes of the plough and agriculture. Book X, verse 101, says : “Refresh the horses ; remove the corn stacked in the field and make a cart which will convey it easily.” The practice of employing horses for agriculture still continues in European countries ; but it has ceased in modern times in India.

Allusion is made in various places to irrigation of fields by well-water and canals. "This deep and spacious well never dries up. Fasten the leather string and let us take out water from it and prepare *tongás* to supply the animals with drinking water." In another place reference is made to a "well of water for the drinking of animals, one *drona* in extent, with a stone wheel attached to it. The reservoir for the drinking of men is one *skanda*. Let it be filled up with water to the brim." Water was taken from the wells for drinking purposes by means of a leather string described as "shining in the deep and goodly well." It was raised from wells, for irrigation, by means of earthen pots fastened to a rope, or string, which worked on a wooden wheel, the movement of which caused the pots to go down empty and come up filled with water. The process is called *ghatichakra* and is in use in Northern India to this day. Irrigation in the Panjab being chiefly dependent on well water, and men and beasts obtaining their supply of drinking from it, the use of wells was indispensable for the early Aryan settlers in that country.

Allusion also occurs in the Vedas to irrigation by means of Canals. artificial canals (X, 99, 4).

We have already referred to the fact that the Aryans were presumably a building race. No distinct allusion is to be found in the Rig Veda to sculpture as an art; but abundant proof exists to show that the art of building with stone was practised by the ancient Aryans long before the ascendancy of Sakya. The various rocky and mountainous tracts colonised by them afforded special facilities for utilising stone as a durable, cheap and portable material for architecture, and it may be readily believed that, in towns bordering on the hills, many structures and town walls were made of that substantial material. There are allusions in the Rig Veda to "mansions with a thousand pillars," showing that the art of building with stone was known to the primitive Hindus.

To cut ponderous stones from hill quarries, to shape them and finally to make large pillars of them, requires a large amount of skill in the sculptural art, and this could not have been taught to the Indians in the time of Asoka all at once. They could not have attained all the excellence which the monuments exhibit without some previous training. Speaking on this subject, General Cunningham observes:—"I do not suppose that building with stone was unknown to the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion. On the contrary,

I will show, in another portion of this report, not only that stone buildings were in use before that time, but that some of these are still standing in the present day."* Again, these huge columns of stone were conveyed for hundreds of miles from one place to another, and this could not be done without some knowledge of mechanics, which the ancient Indians presumably possessed.

Greek civilisation left little mark on India, and, so far as has been ascertained, it has left none on Indian architecture. True, Alexander the Great erected some altars in certain parts of the Panjab, on his way to the Hyphasis, or modern Bias ; but all he is known to have done in the way of architecture was the founding of two cities, one in memory of his pet dog Peritas, and the other in honour of his favourite horse Bucephalus. The stay of that conqueror in the Punjab lasted only for a few months ; and, as he is not shown to have imported any Greek architects into the country, the art of architecture in India could not have been much influenced during his short reign, or that of his successors, whose power was limited to the North-west of India.

The Mahabharata, which was arranged several centuries before the age of Buddha, abounds in allusions to temples, two-storeyed buildings, arches, balconies, pavilions, porticoes and walls surrounding large buildings. Mention is made of stone stairs in large tanks, of reservoirs and other structures, belonging apparently to the old Aryan period, and showing that the art of building with stone was not only known to the Aryans, but had attained some degree of excellence. The great gathering of crowned heads which

A royal concourse. took place at Indraprastha, or modern Delhi, on the occasion of the royal feast given by Yudhisthira, the King of the Kuravas, which is styled the Rajasuya in the Mahabharata, was attended by all the princes of India who had been summoned to the royal court. Many spacious edifices were required to accommodate the princes and their retinue, and the poet gives the following graphic description of them in the text :—"Oh King ! These and many other princes, sons of Pandus of the Middle Land (Central India), have come to join this royal concourse, the Rajasuya. We have accommodated them in splendid houses, furnished with various kinds of refreshments and adorned with pleasant and beautiful lakes. Their pathways are lined by rows of verdant trees. The son of Dharmá welcomed the royal

guests with great pomp and splendour ; and, after the honourable reception accorded to them, they put up in the quarters respectively assigned to them. These mansions were as lofty as the peaks of the Kailásá Mountains ; were most handsome and well adorned and furnished. They were surrounded on all sides by solid and lofty walls, all coloured snow white. The windows, set with gems, were covered with gold lattice work. The ascent to upper stories was by stairs of convenient size, well-shaped and easy to mount. The halls were very wide and furnished with rich carpets. They were perfumed with odoriferous scents and decorated with garlands and bunches of flowers of sweet fragrance. The houses were well polished and in their whiteness looked as resplendent as the full moon. They were visible from a distance of four miles. There was nothing to obstruct the view from them. They were furnished with door-ways of uniform size, but of diverse patterns and inlaid with ornamental designs. The very sight of these mansions delighted the princes."

The Rig Vedas abound in passages showing that the country was infested by robbers and dacoits. Robbers and thieves. These were probably cattle-lifters belonging to the aboriginal tribes who subsisted on the spoils gained by plundering the neighbouring tracts of Aryan villages and habitations. Pushan, the god of the shepherds, was thus invoked for safety from the depredations of these robbers :—"Oh Pushan ! Remove thou from our path him who leads us astray, who inflicts on us harm, who plunders us and subjects us to loss." Another prayer for safe journey and safe return home was thus :—"Oh Pushan ! Do thou help us in completing our journey and remove thou all dangers from our path and prove thou a shield of protection to us and guide us." A prayer for protection against thieves says : "Remove from our passage the wicked robbers who trouble us in our journey." Another prayer runs thus :—"Oh all wise Pushan, the destroyer of enemies ! We implore of thee that protection and safety which thou art known to have extended to our forefathers and which enabled thee to guard them and prove to them a shield." A Vengeance against the cursed robbers is thus invoked :—"Trample thou under thy feet the body of that wretched robber who plunders us and commits acts of depredation on us."

The Rig Vedas contain passages furnishing ample testimony to the fact that the use of current money was known among the ancient Aryans, and that money was used in the buying and selling of articles of daily consumption. In IV, 24, 9 it is said : "A person

sells a large quantity of an article to another for a small price, and again, going to the purchaser, denies the sale and makes a demand for a larger price for the same article, but he cannot ask a price larger than that once fixed upon, on the plea that he had given the purchaser a larger quantity of the article. Whether the value be sufficient or insufficient, the price fixed and agreed upon at the time of sale, must remain unchanged."

The above passage shows that the ancient Aryans were lovers of truth ; that they respected a contract of sale, and that a contract once agreed to and completed had the force of finality.

Passages relating to trade and merchandise are of rare occurrence in the Rig Veda ; but the custom of advancing money on usury seems to have prevailed. Passages also exist in which the *Rishis*, or holy men, are described as heavily involved in debt and subjected to consequent misery and affliction. Their sorrow at their heavy indebtedness is described. Though there is no express mention in the Rig Veda of 'coined money, or currency, yet passages are not wanting in which the *Rishis* have acknowledged the receipt of a specified sum of gold money. Thus, one *Rishi* takes pleasure in acknowledging a present of "a hundred pieces of gold." V, 27, 2. From the passages relating to the indebtedness of these sages, and the bestowal on them of presents in pieces of gold, there seems to be little doubt that gold pieces of fixed denomination and value were in use as current money. No mention of silver pieces exists, though both silver and gold were largely used for ornaments, for women and children. Gold had thus a greater attraction than silver from the remotest antiquity in India, as it, indeed, seems to have had in other countries.

The Shastras strictly prohibit the intercourse of females of respectable families with public women. The latter, though looked upon with an indulgent eye, are prohibited from indulging in any familiarity with the ladies of good social position until they abandon their calling. Yet we learn from the Vedas that in the Vedic period public women not only had free intercourse with the members of their sex belonging to respectable families, but joined them in dinner parties, were entertained by them, and indulged in singing and dancing along with them. We learn that the Yadawas not only permitted their wives and daughters to hold intercourse with public women, but became familiar with such women themselves, and the freedom of their manners carried them so far that they are described as indulging in debauchery in the presence of their parents and elders, or members of their family of advanced age. The only exception in this respect was

Social usages.

Lax morality.

Bala Dewa, who was faithful to his only wife, Rewati. The Puranas are replete with stories of the strong attachment Bala Dewa had for his wife. He was too often seen drunk at festive entertainments, his gait being unsteady through intoxication on such occasions ; yet, even in this condition, he never forsook the company of his beloved consort, but sang and danced with her.

The Yadawas were much addicted to drinking. Respectable women mixed freely with prostitutes at festivals and on public occasions.

The poet has described in glowing terms, how these ladies of all denominations and ranks, indulged to excess in liquor ; how they tottered and staggered, how they wavered in their speech, and proved a laughing stock to the company though the acts done by them in a state of semi-consciousness. They used strong liquors manufactured from different ingredients. Grape wine was in high favour and Bala Dewa was particularly fond of it. In the Puránás, wherever the name of Bala Dewa occurs, mention of wine is necessarily made as being in constant use by him. Spirit was extracted from various flowers and ingredients, and the liquors had a very strong taste. It was for this reason that, after a man had partaken of a glass of wine, fruit, or sweetmeat, or some saltish preparation was invariably taken to remove the unpleasant taste. There were wine-cakes, and hardly a mention of an entertainment is made in the Puranas without allusion to the use of such cakes. The custom exists to this day among the natives of the country of partaking of some fruit or sweetmeat after taking wine.

The notions of sacrifice at the altars brought with them by the ancient Aryans were as primordial as those of the aborigines whom they conquered. The practice has, indeed, been common to all nations of antiquity and is traced by some to a primeval revelation. It is based on the simple notion of establishing a kindly and permanent relation between the invisible Power and man by the yielding on the part of the latter of a portion of what the Power has given him, and thus securing divine pleasure and gratitude, or averting divine wrath. In the most ancient record of humanity contained in the Old Testament, we find mention of sacrifice as a rite already established. Only a voice from heaven prevented Abraham from carrying out the slaughter of Isaac, his beloved son, into which he had been tempted by Jehovah. Among the Romans human sacrifices were in use during the Republic, and men were slaughtered in honour of God among the Gauls and other Celts. Among the Indo-Aryans the chanting of the Vedic hymns was reckoned as the first round in the sacrificial ladder. The Vedas regard it as so ancient as to involve with it the creation of the world. No

better proof of this could be offered than the following hymn from the 11th *Mandala* of the Rig Veda.

‘On the ancient ceremony of sacrifice being complete (the Invisible Power) created sages, men and our forefathers. I view this oblation which primeval saints offered with an observant eye and venerate them. The seven inspired sages with hymns and thanksgivings walk in the path of those primeval sages, and the sacrifices they wisely practise put them in the right path, as the reins help charioteers in guiding their steeds.’

The ceremonies of *Aswamedha* and *Purushamedha* described in the *Yajur Veda* show that, although no sacrifices of horses and men were made in those days, yet the ceremonies observed were in imitation of certain practices which the primitive Aryans observed in the remotest antiquity, and which constituted their sacred rites at the altars. At the *Aswamedha* ceremony six hundred and nine animals of various kinds, wild as well as domesticated, including feathered game, fish and reptiles, were separately fastened to stakes or pillars, or placed between them at proper intervals; the priest recited prayers and performed ceremonies, which being over in due form, the captives were released without injury. In the *Purushamedha* one hundred and eighty-five men of different classes and professions were bound to a number of posts, and, after the hymns relating to purahotic immolation of Narayana had been recited with due ceremonies, the captives were set free unmolested, this being followed by oblations of butter made at the huge mass of fire lit at the altar.

Instead of the bread and rice now used at dinner parties and other entertainments, what was used for the enjoyment of the guests was buffalo’s flesh, which was roasted in red hot iron pans. In the *Wáná Parva* of the *Mahabharata* it is mentioned that buffalo flesh was publicly sold in the streets, and that there was a great gathering of customers at the shops at which such flesh was sold. The Vedic hymns give a graphic account of these entertainments. In one place it is said that “Agni, the friend of Indra, quickly consumed 300 buffaloes.” At another place, we find: “May the day come, Oh Indra, when the Pushans and the Vishnus may cook for thee 100 buffaloes.” Such was the way of propitiating buffalo-eating gods. The worshippers prayed to the gods in the following fashion:—“Have mercy on him, Oh Indra, who may present thee with cattle for thy food. Gowra, or Gawayá, sit.” Indra is addressed in the following terms:—“Take thy seat, O Indra, on green grass, partake of Soma wine and then depart.” On this a Rishi observes:—“Indra’s belly is as large as a lake.” It is mentioned

in the Viswamitra that "holy men drink the sweet juice of Soma in the company of friends sitting together."

Flesh was fried with clarified butter in large pans, and sprinkled with salt and pepper and seasoned with spices. In the time of the Rig Veda flesh was cooked with milk, and it is mentioned in one place in the sacred volume that "Vishnu carried a curry prepared with 100 buffaloes and one hog." Mention exists of the flesh of deer and of other animals obtained by the chase. Their flesh was either roasted, or fried, or cooked as curry and dressed with spices of various kinds. It was for the most part roasted.

No mention exists in the earlier hymns of the Rig Veda of beef, and it is not known whether it was used in feasts. Nevertheless a story is told in the Mahabharata of a certain king who daily slaughtered two thousand cattle and killed the same number of feathered game for the use of his kitchen. He is described as a very pious king. His principle title to virtue was based on the fact that he daily fed mendicants with beef. Curry was prepared of beef. In the Giryā Sūtra it is stated that the food for children and sick people comprised partridges, ducks, geese, pigeons and ortolans. Sauces of tamarind, pomegranates and acids were prepared.

At feasts and entertainments, every body danced with his own wife. Thus Bala Dewa danced with his wife Rewati; Krishna with his wife Satya Bhāna, and Arjuna with his wife Subhadra. Those who had no wives, danced with prostitutes; but all danced without restriction. Those who could not, owing to ill luck, secure the hand of any woman for dancing, danced alone, and became the laughing stock of the spectators. The sage Narada, besides being skilled in singing, was famous for jesting and amusement, and for playing the part of an actor, which shows that a reputation for piety and religion in no way interfered with merriment and gaiety.

In old days tutors were employed in respectable families to teach the art of singing and dancing to ladies and gentlemen. Eunuchs famous for their beautiful voices were appointed as teachers of the art of music, as was the case in Italy two hundred years ago. According to the Viratā Parva of the Mahabharata, Arjuna became a eunuch to enable him to teach singing and dancing to the daughters of a king.

In the Hai Vansa Parva of the Mahabharata, an account is given of the picnic of ancient times. Account of an Aryan Picnic. It is very interesting as showing that the social rules and practices of the old

Aryans were altogether different from those of the present time, and that what is looked upon as repugnant to decency and good taste in these days was treated as essential for domestic life and an ornament for public occasions. The scene of the picnic was a lake on the western coast of Gujrat, near Dwarka, inhabited by the Pandavas, and described as a place of great pilgrimage much held in veneration by the Hindús. A journey to this place was considered meritorious and was styled Tiratha Yatra, or journey to a sacred place. The heads of the party who undertook a journey there were the sages Bala Deva, Krishna and Arjuna, who each started with their families and thousands of public women from their respective houses. Their sole occupation at the place of their visit was merry-making. They feasted, drank, bathed, sang and danced, and returned home without performing a single act or ceremony regarded as necessary on occasions of pilgrimage to such a holy place. The following is an extract from the text.

When Vishnú of unrivalled courage and bravery was living in Dwarawati, he determined on one occasion to visit Pindaraka on the sea coast. Having appointed kings Vasu Dewa and Ugra Sena regents for the management of the affairs of his monarchy, he availed himself of a propitious hour to march to the intended place with his family. Bala Deva, of renowned wisdom, Janardhaná and other princes and grandees, went with separate assemblies. Along with beautiful young princes, clad in costly costumes, marched public women in great numbers, all adorned with handsome ornaments and fine and rich clothes. These beautiful women had been originally brought to Dawa Raoti by the powerful Yadawas. They had been taken from the palaces of the Dityas whom the Yadawas had reduced to subjection. The Yadawa princes had kept these women for their own enjoyment, and Krishna allowed them quarters in the city as a safeguard against the quarrels which were of frequent occurrence before. After all had reached the sea coast, Bala Deva first entered the water. He was followed by Krishna, with his numerous wives. Aquatic sports then began in earnest. The feet of some slipped, some walked in the water staggering, some swam, some vied in throwing water on each other, some less accustomed to enter the running waters bathed leaning on others. Krishna amused himself with his wives, each of whom loved him with all her heart, and was thoroughly convinced that her lord loved her most. Krishna played with Rukmini ; his other wives tried to please him to the best of their power and adaptation. Some of the women wore very thin garments and each vied with the others in attraction, beauty and loveliness.

The princes amused themselves in separate assemblies. They were accompanied by women who sang and danced. Though they had been brought from their homes by force, yet they were so well treated by the princes that they soon forgot their homes and became personally attached to the princes. Everything necessary to make the assembled party happy, was provided in abundance. Both men and women decorated themselves with wreaths and garlands of sweet-smelling flowers, and the different kinds of perfumes and scents used by them filled the air with a sweet and refreshing odour. All engaged in different kinds of sport. Some bathed, others threw one another into the water, some enjoyed the scene in pleasure boats of different sizes and patterns. Krishna himself enjoyed the scene and wished others to do the same. He issued injunctions to spare no pains to please those who had come to enjoy the scene. After the games were over, Krishna bestowed rich presents on the female dancers.*

The Rig Veda furnishes abundant evidence of the fact that the ancient Aryans were acquainted with the art of weaving and provided themselves not only with the necessities, but also with the luxuries of life. There are various passages in the Rig showing that they were accustomed to dress in rich clothes. No detailed accounts of these dresses are given, but the words used make it clear that they were made of rich and costly stuffs. The Dawn is personified as a god, and the following attributes are given to it:—"She is a god. She makes her appearance on the horizon like a young maiden and approaches the brilliant and resplendent sun as a young bride goes to her bridegroom, with a thousand charms, and with smiling countenance undresses herself." Referring to the night, the text says: "She is like a woman who covers her whole body with a garment." In another place it is said with reference to the Dawn: "She is like a wife who, dressed in fine attire, walks over to her husband in a lovely fashion and enchants him with her beauty." In another place, it is stated: "She appears like a woman in beautiful attire, or a woman who puts aside her clothes for the purpose of bathing." Again it is said: "*Ushas* (dawn), 'the daughter of heaven' shows her countenance like a female richly dressed." In various passages she is described as "dressed in an attire of brilliancy and splendour."

Some of the poems in the Rig Veda in praise of Indra are compared to "rich and beautiful garments worthy of being offered as a present." This shows that in India the practice of presenting *khilats*, or dresses of honour, is very old. In connection

* Indo-Aryans by Rajendra Lala Mitra.

with the rewarding of priests, the idea of bestowing a dress of honour is expressed in clear terms. Reference is made in several places to "well clad and well adorned slave girls." The Yajur and Sama Vedas abound in passages alluding to fine and rich costumes and dresses. The Yajur has also reference to "dresses wrought with gold," showing that gold embroidery was in use.

When the Aryas emigrated to the Panjab, the climate of the country being cold, warm clothes were presumably necessary to protect them against it. Hence, it is surmised that clothes made of cotton and wool must have been used, though no mention of either exists in the Vedas. Professor J. S. Belfore is of opinion that cotton is indigenous to India. Coloured clothes and rich garments brought in ancient times to Phenicia and Babylon, of which mention is made in Old Testament, are supposed to have been the produce of India exported to those countries by sea. The Vedas are silent with respect to silk as stuff; but in the days of the Ramayana clothes made of silk were in extensive use.

According to Valmiki, "Sita was dressed in a rich costume consisting of clothes of diverse colours and silk clothes and adorned with jewels and gems." She is described as riding in sumptuously-furnished and well-decorated chariots. The commentators on the Ramayana believe that manufactured shawl was exported from Nepal. The chariots are described as being covered with beautiful clothes. Silk stuffs were worn by princes, queens and other grandees. In the time of Manú the use of silk as a stuff was prohibited for the Brahmans.

In the Mahabharata mention occurs of clothes made of the skins of animals and of furs, also of golden stuffs sent to King Yudhistir as a present. These clothes were imported by the Kambojas, or residents of the Hindú Kush mountains.

The Abhiras of Gujarat manufactured blankets, and the residents of the Karnatak and Mysore muslins. Professor Wilson is of opinion that raw and manufactured silk was, in remote antiquity, exported to India from China. When Alexander the Great invaded India, his Greeks were astonished to see the Indians dressed in clothes as white as snow. They describe these clothes as being manufactured from wool, or the fibre of trees. Old statues excavated from the ruins of cities furnish evidence that in ancient times clothes in great variety and ornaments of different shapes and sizes were extensively in use.

The Rig Vedas abound in passages in which express men-

tion of a voyage by sea exists. The god Varuna is credited with having a knowledge of the birds' passages through the sky and the ship's passage in the waters of the ocean. Stories are told of shipwreck and the saving of ships from destruction through the good offices of the Asvin gods. A poet is enthusiastic in his praise of passengers on board ship who, before a sea voyage, implore the sea-god for protection during their journey and increase of prosperity and wealth.

Wheat, barley and rice seem to have been used by the early Aryans for food, and these grains were eaten in a cooked form. The earliest

immigrants ate the flesh of horses, but such flesh ceased to be used as human food soon after the settlement of the country by the invaders. With the use of horse-flesh as food, a stop was put to the sacrifice of horses to the gods. There are numerous passages in the Rig Vedas in which mention occurs of great sacrifices of horses, buffaloes and bullocks, and of their flesh being cooked as food. Mention also occurs of altars and

sacrificial places where cows and lambs were slaughtered for sacrifice. X, 89, 14 and X, 91, 14. Sacrifices were made only on grand occasions, when a powerful king defeated his rival king and repulsed an enemy who had invaded his country. Long horizontal cuts

were made on a horse with large sharp knives, and strips of its flesh were torn out according to these marks or cuts. The different limbs, ribs and bones of the poor animal having thus been torn off, the slices were distributed among the assembled people, who roasted them forthwith and feasted on them. The soul of the sacrificed horse was supposed to have flown to the sky to join the gods. In later times these sacrifices came to be performed on the pompous and magnificent scale which was attributed to Vedic times, though, as a fact, the ceremonies were observed in their entire simplicity during that period.

A peculiarly solemn rite was performed in Vedic times in imitation of the fabulous inauguration of Indra, of which full particulars are given in the 39th Chapter of the Rig Veda. It was believed that the performance of this great sacrifice would secure for the king who observed it great power and universal monarchy, that he would completely subdue the whole earth and traverse it in every direction. Mantras were chanted by priests with great ceremonies on this occasion and horses sacrificed. A horse fed with grain, marked with a white star on its forehead, and wearing a green wreath round its neck, was usually preferred.

Bharata, son of Dushanta, is described as having bound

seventy-eight horses for solemn rites near the Yamuna (Jamna) and fifty-five in Vritraghna, on the Ganga (Ganges). Having thus performed the sacred rite, the son of Dushanta 'became pre-eminently wise and surpassed the prudence of every other king.'

During the Vedic times fermented juice of the Soma plant was used for intoxicating purposes. Intoxicating liquors. The ancient people were addicted to it to such an extent that night and day they would talk of nothing but Soma. It formed their chief article of luxury, and all freely indulged in it without regard to sect, sex or age. Within a short period from the first Aryan settlement, Soma was deified and worshipped as a god in both India and Persia. In the language of Iran, Soma was called Haoma, while in India a separate chapter is devoted in the Vedas to its praise. The Indian section of the Aryans became so notorious for drinking Soma juice that many passages occur in the Zendavasta of Iran in which a contempt for the Indians is expressed on account of their excessive and immoderate use of it. Soma mixed with milk, sugar and other refreshing and tonic ingredients, was much in favour, and its preparation in this way was considered acceptable to the gods to whom it was offered as food. The Rig Veda abounds in passages extolling Soma as the best food offering for the gods. In Book X it is said :—"Take me, O Soma! to that monarchy where there is eternal light; where there are the regions of heaven! Conduct me to that palace where there is everlasting peace and repose! Guide me to that lovely place where Indra is!" IX, 113, 7. Soma has even the power to confer eternal life upon the gods. One passage has it :—"O Soma! There is nothing in the world which can equal thee in brilliancy. When thou art poured out in liquid form, thou welcomest all gods and bestowest upon them perpetual life." Young maidens by their charming sweet voice try to propitiate the god Soma :—"Seven young maidens stir thee with their fingers and harmonise their sweet voice in singing songs to please thee. Thou instructest a sacrificer in the rites at the time of sacrifice." IX, 66, 1.

The early Aryans set great store on war horses, which were of special service to them in conducting hostile operations and in waging war against aboriginal tribes who dreaded these horses. Some of the famous war horses were worshipped. Kings and princes rode on elephants caparisoned with all the pomp and magnificence of a monarch. IV, 4, 1. Bharata is said to have distributed a large number of 'black elephants with white tusks decked with gold.'

Dadhikra, the deified war horse, is an object of praise

in the Vedic hymns. As people scream and cry out with horror on seeing a thief enter their apartments, or carrying away their clothes, so, it is said, the enemy raised an alarm on coming in sight of Dadhikra. As the birds chatter and make a noise on seeing a hungry hawk descending towards them from the sky, so the enemy raised a shout of alarm on seeing Dadhikra when it made its appearance in quest of food, or to seize and carry away by force the cattle of the Dasas.

The 39th Chapter of the Rig Veda, which gives interesting particulars of a solemn rite performed by the ancient Aryan kings in imitation of the fabulous inauguration of Indra, furnishes particulars of the gifts of horses

Gifts of horses and elephants and female slaves by kings.

and elephants to priests who presided over these ceremonies. 'Invite me to this solemn, rite,' says the text, 'and I will give thee, holy man, ten thousand elephants and ten thousand female slaves.' In another place it is said, 'the son of Atri bestowed in gift ten thousand women adorned with necklaces, all daughters of opulent persons and brought from various countries.' In one place allusion is made to the priest being presented with 'eighty thousand white horses fit for use.' The number seems, in all cases, to have been very much exaggerated, but these and similar passages in the Rig Veda, show, beyond a doubt, that kings rewarded the priests who presided over sacrifices, on a truly magnificent scale.

In no part of the Rig Veda do the authors of the hymns display their eloquence and rhetoric more forcibly than in the passages which depict the wars between the Aryan

Fight between the Aryans and the Dasyus.

invaders and the black-skinned aboriginal tribes. These latter the fair Aryans conquered or reduced to subjection, or drove them to southern tracts, or the skirts of the hills, or to marshy lands and inaccessible deserts. They were deprived of their homes and lands. 'Indra with his thunderbolt destroyed the Dasyus who lived in their mother-country. He deprived them of their lands and then divided it among his own friends (the Aryans).' 'The thunder gives light to the sun and causes the rain to fall from the sky.' 1, 100, 18. That the aboriginal tribes lived in towns, is proved from various passages in the Rig Veda. At one place, it is said :—'Indra, with his weapon the thunderbolt, and with his valour and prowess, has destroyed the towns of the Dasyus and scattered their ranks.'

The thunderbolt is thus personified :—"O Thunderbolt ! Thou who art well aware of the beauties of our hymns in praise of thy valour ; do thou attack the Dasyus with thy powerful and destructive weapon and increase the power and glory of the Aryans."

The Rig Vedas mention four small streams, Sifa, Kulisi, Anjasi and Virapatni, in the neighbourhood of which the aboriginal tribes lived. Emerging from their habitations, they pillaged the Aryan villages and committed acts of depredation in the same way as the Tantia Bhils do at the present day in Central India. The stealing capacity of Koyava, a noted robber, is thus described :—‘Koyava swells through the property of others and steals it. He lives in the waters and pollutes them. His two wives bathe in the stream. May he meet his death by being drowned in the Sifa.’ ‘Ayo remains concealed in the waters. The rivers Anjas, Kulisi and Virapatni give him protection.’ In a prayer for the destruction of enemies, it is said. ‘O Asvins ! Destroy those who bark like dogs or who yell like wolves, and who come to ruin us. Destroy those who wish to fight with us. You know how to destroy.’

A form of military instruction and discipline seems to have been known to the aboriginal tribes, who opposed armed resistance to the Aryan invaders, as the following extracts from the Rig Veda shows :—‘Indra who killed Viritra and stormed towers, has destroyed the army of the Dasás. He has made the waters and the land for the sake of Manú.* May he fulfil the vows of the offerers of sacrifice.’ II, 20, 7.

The aborigines are described as not only fond of yelling and without tongue and speech, but as being hardly human beings. In one place it is said :—‘We are surrounded on all sides by the Dasyus. They perform no sacrifices and believe in nothing. Their rites are abominable. They are not men. O thou destroyer of enemies ! do thou put them to destruction.’ X, 22, 8.

Such were the aboriginal tribes of India who opposed the progress of the fair Aryans from the north. Such was the fate to which the original masters of the soil were subjected at the hands of the foreign invaders from Central Asia who sought to deprive them of their homes and liberty. It was not without repeated hard fighting and much bloodshed that the northern invaders were enabled to establish themselves in the conquered country, to extend by degrees the area of their cultivated lands, to found new villages and habitations in forests and remote tracts, and to spread their civilization and the fame of their prowess in neighbouring countries. They entertained an intense hatred for the vanquished aboriginal tribes. Whenever they had the opportunity, they subjected multitudes of the population to wholesale murder, trampled their bodies under the hoofs of their horses, or scattered in confusion their assembled armed multitudes.

The aborigines, on the other hand, were resolute in avenging

* Considered to be the primogenitor of the Aryas.

themselves on their persecutors to the best of their power and means. Such as escaped the civilized valour of the Aryans, concealed themselves in remote and deep forests, inaccessible hill regions, or the sandy deserts and marshy tracts where grew thick reeds and jungle. From these lonely spots they emerged at favourable opportunities in strong bodies, and attacked and plundered travellers, lifted cattle, sacked villages, and seized the property of the Aryans, retreating again to their place of shelter with their booty. But, despite the obstinate resistance offered by them, the invaders pressed upon them on all sides and the area of their habitations increased. Throughout the land of the Five Rivers, new kingdoms were established. The savage populations were either exterminated or the remnants of them sought protection in the skirts of the hills, where their descendants are to be found to this day. Some of the weaker savages preferred obedience and subordination to the conquering races to expulsion. In the Rig Veda vivid accounts are given of aboriginal tribes who became subject to the Aryan yoke and adopted their religion and civilisation.

It has been mentioned that the Aryans used not only helmets but armour for the shoulders, and that they employed not only Weapons of War. javelins, battle axes and arrows, but bow and arrows. Besides these, they made free use of sharp-edged swords. The hymns of the Rig Veda are loud in praise of warriors. 'When the time for battle approaches,' says a hymn, and "the warrior leaves for the battlefield with his armour, he looks like a cloud. O warrior, do not allow thy person to be pierced with arrows. Conquer and subdue ! Thy armour will protect thee !' Another, in praising the power of the bow, says :—' We shall conquer the cattle with the bow. We shall obtain victory with the bow. We shall subdue the foe by the singular strength of our bow. May the hopes of the enemy fail to realise their object through the operations of the bow. We shall extend our conquests on all sides with the help of the bow ? ' 'The string of the bow when drawn reaches the archer's ear. On his repairing to the battlefield, the string whispers in his ear words of consolation. It clasps the arrow as a loving wife clasps her affectionate husband.'

Graphic descriptions are given of the battlefield :—' The horses neigh and spread smoke of dust with their hoofs. The charioteers spread dust in the battle field with their chariots. The horses gallop with great might and swiftness. They never retreat from the battle field, but trample the retreating enemy under their hoofs.'

An arrow is praised and described as pointed with steel.

From this it appears that all the weapons of war known to other countries in ancient times were in use in India four thousand years ago. People were called to the field of battle by the sound of trumpets, and bands of troops or warriors were conducted to the scene of strife headed by flags and banners. War-horses and war-chariots were freely employed. Elephants were also used ; but it cannot be ascertained whether they were used in warfare, as was found to be the case at the time of Greek invasion of India in the 3rd and 4th centuries before Christ.

(To be continued.)

ART. X.—THE TREE-DAUBING OF 1894.

A STUDY.

WE are at a sufficient distance now from the tree-daubing of 1893-94 to take a dispassionate view of the demonstration. It is worth examining because it carries a moral which may be applied to more recent agitations, and which has been the key to our greatest catastrophes in India in the past.

The details of the demonstration are simple. The daub was a mud patch with a few hairs in the centre. It was plastered on trees at a convenient height from the ground ; and, with one exception, the plastering was done at night and by unseen agents. Occasionally, in place of the mud-daub, a blaze was cut in the bark, the chips being carefully removed. It is reported to have been first seen in October, or November, 1893, in the *sál* forests round Gauhati in Assam ; but it did not attract attention until, in the following February, it appeared along the Nepal frontier to the north of Behar. Thence, in the course of a few months, it spread over the Behar districts to the Ganges, and at last covered an area north of the river of about 200 miles long by 100 broad, between Gorakhpore on the west and the Kashi river on the east. Outside this tract, there were sporadic cases as far west as Cawnpore, and east in Calcutta and Cachar.

The hair plastered in the mud was examined by experts, but was not successfully identified. At first, in accordance with a prevailing theory, it was supposed to represent hair from the tail of Hanumán, the monkey god. Then deer, pig, buffalo, jackal, cow, and bear were in turn suggested, and finally it was conjectured that the hair of the cow had been intended, but that the bristles of other animals had been occasionally used in error by low-caste persons deputed to apply the daub, or by others in imitation of the genuine symbol.

At the time when the daub first appeared, gangs of *Sádhus* were observed pouring into Behar from the north-west, and others passing to and fro along the Nepal border. A series of marks found south of the Ganges were traced to a company of these men, and one of their class was caught in the act of applying the sign at Cawnpore. These evidences pointed to the *Sádhus* as the agents of the demonstration.

Its first effect was to mystify the rural population. The people, it was reported, flocked to their *Gurus*, and were variously informed that the sign was a summons to the Nepali shrine of Janakpore, where Hanumán had excavated a tank in a single night with the help of the trees of Behar ; or

that it presaged the return of a mythical hero to earth; or, again, that all creatures were about to rise to protect the sacred cow of Hindûism. Then, in the uncertainty of particular interpretations, it came to be regarded as a divine sign, or *tutksh*, boding trouble to whomsoever it might concern.

A discussion was before long opened in the English press which reached its culmination in the following May. The *Spectator* led off with a prophecy of a mutiny on the 25th of the month, that being the anniversary of a prominent event in the outbreak of 1857. The date was expanded by Colonel Malleson to the whole hot weather, and he compared the sign to the famous *chupatties*, likening existing grievances to those which existed then. On the other hand, Sir Alfred Lyall quoted the legend of a pious Brahmin's cocoanut, which, at an earlier period of Anglo-Indian history, had travelled over half the west of India, before it was ascertained to have been put in circulation to celebrate an occurrence of merely domestic importance. He suggested that a similarly simple explanation lay behind the present demonstration. Sir Richard Temple, like Colonel Malleson, held that it portended treason, but of a quality that it was not possible to determine. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Roberts, and Sir Lepel Griffin followed Sir Alfred Lyall. The ultra-pro-native faction utilised the demonstration to promote their views; and an eminent orientalist discussed its connection with the *Bo-tree* under which Buddha is believed to have once sat in Behar.

The Anglo-Indian journals displayed something of the same diversity. Their most important contributors were the Commissioner of the Patna Division, and Mr. T. M. Gibbon, C. I. E., who then managed the Bettiah States in the north of the tract concerned. Each of these gentlemen in his capacity was entitled to speak with authority—the one as having command of all the official sources of information, the other as being in touch with the rural population, amongst whom he had spent the better part of a lifetime. But the former held that the demonstration was politically meaningless, the latter that it ‘boded grave trouble to the administration.’ There were other views expressed by many persons of less importance, but with these it would be tedious to deal except in sample. As instances, a leading paper argued that the manifestation was nothing but an elaborate hoax to annoy Europeans; whilst one District Magistrate, with a reflection of Colonel Newcome's accuracy, ascertained that all the marks *but three* in his jurisdiction were due to cattle rubbing against the trees.

The Bengali press exhibited a bland spirit of curiosity, coupled with a tone of reassurance to the Government—an attitude not without its humour. The Zemindars and other natives of position did not publish their views. It was officially stated on

their behalf that they scouted the idea of any political meaning lying behind the sign ; and argued, with a show of reason, on the other side, that they would be unlikely to commit themselves by disclosing it if there were. They were accused by some of having inspired the agitation as a last protest against the cadastral survey of Behar, then in its initiation. A few Moham-medans professed to apprehend annoyance at the next *Bakr-Id* festival, but it passed without disturbance. There were rumours of a projected rising to oust Indigo planters from Behar ; and, although these were ridiculed, it was thought advisable to issue emergent orders to the Volunteers. In the meantime 'no change of demeanour towards Europeans was noticed in the native population, whilst commerce and trade throughout India remained unaffected.

The Janakpore tank theory was the only one of importance amongst the many broached which suggested a practical object for the agitation. It was supposed that the mud represented the trace which each tree had brought back of its efforts to assist the monkey god, just as the hair was supposed to represent hair from his tail. The place was, however, visited and the miracle exposed ; nevertheless mendicant devotees of all denominations were seen travelling to the shrine. It was accordingly suggested that advertisement of the holy place was the object of the movement, the legend of the tank having been designed only to appeal to the superstition of the more ignorant classes. The advertisement was explained on two grounds, as a protest against certain sanitary measures recently prescribed for the great Hurdwar fair, the most sacred meeting place in Northern India : and as designed in the interests of the anti-kine-killing movement, the riots of the previous year having roused the Government to an exceptional activity in repression. It was pointed out that Janakpore, being outside British India, would be free from inconvenient interference.

The demonstration was then associated with other portents of the year. There had been a penance of some simple character exacted from ploughmen in Behar. There were also symptoms of a revival of interest in Hindúism, which a year or too later was said to be still in progress, and to have 'set the minds of natives against everything European.' The prophecy that the sanctity of the Ganges was about to pass to the Narbadda was instanced as a sign of the times, together with the legend that British rule was destined to end in 1898.* More sinister rumours were repeated of projected massacres of Europeans at Patna and elsewhere. The brow-mark of a

* More recently stated to be 1897.

Hindú devotee was put upon an effigy of the Queen-Empress in Madras, and Sir Richard Temple's statue was tarred over in Bombay. All these circumstances, taken together with the tree-daubing, were interpreted as indicating the presence of a widespread feeling of unrest.

The political conscience was accordingly searched to explain the existence of such a feeling. Attacks were made on the British administration of justice, and the ancient defects of the land laws, which had aided the expropriation of so many hereditary landholders. Many other old charges were revived, or new ones put forward : the tendency towards over-population which accompanies British rule, the education of more candidates for office than there are places to fill, the injustice of the cotton duties, the unfairness of some English demands on the Indian Exchequer, the interference of the Opium Commission, the Factory Acts, and even the assumption of State control over primary education, which was declared to be in the eyes of natives a deep laid scheme for the withdrawal of children from the religious influence of the old *pathshalas*. A native writer to an Anglo-Indian newspaper asserted the widespread unpopularity of the British with the lower classes throughout India, because of their slaughter of kine ; and finally attention was drawn to the darker aspect of affairs in Behar, where a dense population lives on the brink of famine, the mango crop (the tree to which the daub had been generally applied) had failed for successive seasons, and the corruption regarded as inseparable from settlement operations on a large scale in that part of India was alleged to be rife. It was suggested that the accumulation of such grievances as these had produced a wave of discontent which had found expression in the manifestations described.

No attempt was, however, made to trace the connection of cause and effect between the parts of this somewhat vague conclusion, and, at the first blush, it is not apparent that such a connection exists. For, in the first place, it is not easy to see why the medley of causes stated should have produced a general discontent at the time of the tree-daubing. Those of them which are old were not more acute then than they had been at any time in the previous ten years, and those that were new, were with one or two exceptions, of a character which the Indian masses would generally fail to appreciate. Secondly, if, for the purpose of argument, the discontent be granted, it is by no means obvious how and why it found issue in the tree-daubing. The conclusion needs further to be reconciled with the many special theories of the object of the demonstration which had been broached.

It is, therefore, worth while considering how far the materials

available carry us in seeking for an explanation. Looking at the matter broadly, we see that two inferences stand out with tolerable clearness from amidst the confusion of theories. The first of these is that the demonstration was such as to mystify all who were not in the secret, and command the silence of the rest. It follows either that there was an organisation of considerable efficiency, or that the meaning of the sign appealed so strongly to the people amongst whom it was spread as to make precautions against disclosure unnecessary ; or that the two alternatives were combined. And, inasmuch as there were indications that the organisation was defective, for instance, the delay in spreading the mark, the diversity of explanation given by the local gurus, the admixture of unclean hair with the clean, it seems probable that the second alternative had a large share in the result. The second inference is that the demonstration was carried out by a religious agency, namely, the *Sādhus*, acting under the instructions of the religious leaders of Northern India.

The first part of this inference, namely, that the *Sādhus* were the agents, accords with such evidence as is available and was generally accepted. The rest is to be drawn from the existence of sufficient signs of organisation to indicate that the agitation was inspired by some sort of guiding authority, which authority should, in the first instance, be identified with the spiritual leaders to whom the *Sādhus* are ordinarily responsible, so far as they acknowledge any sort of allegiance. That these leaders were of Northern India in general, rather than of Behar or Janakpore in particular, is indicated by the following circumstances : First, the *Sādhus* themselves were observed to come chiefly from the North-West Provinces. Secondly, that part of India contains the focus of Hindú enthusiasm in Benares, and has fostered many previous agitations of a religious character. Thirdly, in the only case, so far as my observation goes, namely, that at Cawnpore, in which a *Sādhu* was detected in the act of tree-daubing, he acknowledged that he was acting under the instructions of a well-known *Guru* in a northern district. Finally, the theory of explanation which received the most general acceptance, namely, that the sign was intended as an advertisement of the Janakpore shrine, supports the inference. It involves the existence of persons interested in advertising the shrine ; and, *on the evidence available*, these would either be the priests of Janakpore, or those concerned in the welfare of the Hurdwar fair, or in the anti-kine-killing movement, or both.

But the first of these alternatives does not satisfy the requirements of the case. For if the Janakpore priests had inspired the advertisement, it would probably have been designed to

attract wealthy laymen as pilgrims ; whereas those who actually responded to it were beggarly devotees. Again, if it had been the selfish advertisement of a single shrine, the attempt would not have passed without the opposition of the older centres of Hindu influence at Benares and elsewhere ; whereas it apparently secured their concurrence. It follows that Janakpore interests were not alone concerned, and, on the evidence, we are reduced to the supposition that those interested in the Hurdwar fair, or the anti-kine-killing movement, or both, who in either case would be the religious leaders of Northern India desired a meeting place beyond the limits of British control.

In making use of the above theories as to the motive of the agitation, I do not mean to present them as established. They suffer, in common with all others in which a definite explanation was propounded, from the fact that, so far as is known, they have not been confirmed by subsequent events, and remain, in fact, no more than so many conjectures of varying degrees of plausibility. Let us, however, consider the bearing of the two inferences drawn in the light of the other manifestations which preceded or accompanied the tree-daubing. Those which accompanied it have been described ; but one preceded it, of considerable importance, to which only a casual reference has as yet been made. This was the anti-kine-killing movement.

In 1892-93 serious riots had occurred between Hindus and Mohammedans at various places in India, in which the former were, as a rule, the aggressors. These disturbances were marked, as they proceeded, by increasing signs of organised lawlessness. They commenced in the cities of Bombay, Rangoon, and Calcutta ; and, although their occurrence in such places is partly attributable to the sudden impulses of city mobs, they were fought with a keenness which indicated some deeper source of inspiration. Outbreaks of a somewhat graver character followed in the districts of Gorakhpore and Balliya, in the North-Western Provinces, where the Hindu leaders, before resorting to violence, endeavoured to induce the Mohammedans to bind themselves not to sacrifice cattle. The riots which followed on a disregard of this demand appear to have been pre-arranged ; and the Judges of the Allahabad High Court, in pronouncing judgment upon some of the Hindu offenders, remarked that their offence came perilously near to rebellion against the State. A further stage, again, was reached in the Basantpur riot in Behar. A convoy of commissariat cattle intended for the troops at Dinapore was followed for three days by a mob of Hindus, who gathered from the neighbouring villages as it passed. The mob was warned off from time to time by the Police, but did not retire ;

and eventually the cattle were taken into the Thannah enclosure at Basantpur for protection. The Hindus attempted to storm the building by night and were only kept off with fire arms. This was a deliberate attack, not against Mohammedans, but upon the Police. There were other occurrences in Behar ; Gya and Patna, always turbulent cities, were the scenes of more or less troublesome demonstrations, while in the districts of which they are the capitals, punitive bodies of Police were quartered in several villages to secure the peace.

Simultaneously with these outbreaks, there had been an increase of activity on the part of the *Gaurakshini Sabha*, or society for the protection of cows. The professed object of the society was humane and politically unimportant, being to provide depôts in the mofussil for the care of maimed or worn-out cattle, the expenses of which were usually met by subscription from the charitable in the neighbourhood. At the time of the anti-kine-killing riots there were gaurakshini depôts in most stations of importance in Behar and the North-West Provinces. The local *banniahs* were the Society's bankers ; and its agents for the collection of subscriptions and agitation generally either were *Sâdhus*, or adopted the mendicant garb. They were sent out to preach in the villages, and their doctrine, the innocent object of the association notwithstanding, was of thinly-veiled sedition ; inasmuch as, whilst dwelling on the sanctity of the cow, they taught how this sanctity was daily violated under British rule, and how, in consequence, the soil was becoming infertile, and the people impoverished ; while there was no prospect of improvement, since the British kill cattle as much as the Mohammedans, and without their excuse on sacrificial grounds. Large numbers of *Sâdhus* were seen in Gorakhpore and Balliya at the time of the riots in those districts, and they were pouring into Sâran before that at Basantpur, where one of their number headed the attack upon the Thannah.

This movement, therefore, although intrinsically religious, contained a perceptible element of hostility to the administration, and a similar element is discernible in many of the later demonstrations. The Hindu revival has been declared by a competent authority to be antagonistic in spirit. The rumours of European massacres were hostile, and, however ordinarily empty, have a certain injurious effect, since they prepare the mind of the native for the reception of more actively poisonous seed, whilst their very absurdity promotes a disregard amongst Europeans of more serious symptoms. Similarly with the insults offered to English statues. The browmark on that of the Queen Empress, which was explained as a compliment, presumably to British tolerance,

was made, at a time of unusual lawlessness, in the name of religion, of admitted grievances against the Home Government, and apparently by one of a class who had been active in defying her laws elsewhere. It seems, therefore, more probable, as indeed it is more in consonance with Indian manners, that, if the act meant more than an empty insult, it was intended to bear some such signification as the absorption of the white in the vast depths of Hinduism. It would, perhaps, be thought extravagant to suggest that a similar interpretation lay behind the colour selected for Sir Richard Temple. In any case it would seem patent that the act in either instance bore an unfriendly complexion.

In the light of this environment, we see that the tree-daubing closely followed a movement which, whilst essentially religious, was also antagonistic to the British administration : that it was conducted by the same agents as the movement described, and, further, that it was accompanied by independent signs of unfriendliness. It follows, *primâ facie*, that it also contained a strain of hostility, attributable, in the first instance, to those who controlled the demonstration ; and these we have inferred to be the religious authorities of Northern India. The inference, in other words, is that the leaders of Hinduism in that part of the Peninsula combined to promote a demonstration of a character unfriendly to British rule.

The evidence does not disclose why the religious authorities should have displayed hostility at that particular conjuncture, or to what extent they may have been animated by the political causes surmised. It leaves, in fact, all the most interesting questions unanswered. So that, whilst we cannot say, with the Commissioner of Patna, that the demonstration was of no political importance, since it appears to have been of an unfriendly character, we cannot, on the other hand, agree with Mr. Gibbon that it ' boded grave trouble to the administration,' inasmuch as no such trouble followed. Nor can we accept any of the special explanations offered at the time because none of them appear to have been confirmed by subsequent events. Nevertheless, we are not justified in declaring the demonstration meaningless, for it bore signs of purposeful organisation ; and, although it would seem to have led to nothing, yet, because it may have failed, we cannot therefore declare that it was without an object. We can only acknowledge that we have failed to probe it.

The lesson to which the agitation leads us, lies partly in the fact that, after a century and a half of British administration, our most experienced representatives are unable to diagnose a characteristic symptom, and partly in the difficulties to which this state of ignorance exposes us. For, accustomed

to our own more direct methods, we are apt to forget that in India it is the practice to deliver many flourishes before a blow ; so that, when we see a flourish, we expect the blow to follow, and, if it should not follow, we conclude that it is never coming. In both conclusions we are apt to be deceived, and many of us have, in fact, been so misled in more than one event of the past year. We are thus led alternately to exaggerate and underrate the importance of periodical symptoms of popular uneasiness. We seem, indeed, no better able to follow the under-currents of popular feeling than we can those of the river Hooghly, and know neither until they carry us away.

It is conceivable, however, that in the matter of popular feeling we might know more. It would be interesting, if space permitted, to examine our prospects in this respect. Such an enquiry would open up an unlooked for vista. We should find, first, a reasonable case for an unfavourable conclusion : that the tendency, namely, of present necessities of administration is towards a less, rather than a more, intimate knowledge of the people, and a parallel that might not prove far fetched would, perhaps, suggest itself between our present position in India and that of the Mahratta rulers when the Peishwas were attaining their supremacy. So we should be led on to consider whether certain dominant characteristics of Indian life were not asserting themselves over, through, and in spite of our dominion : to reflect whether we are not still too dim-sighted ourselves to be efficient leaders of the blind ; behind the age in that, conducting an unrivalled experiment, we too generally neglect the ordinary rules of scientific investigation. Whether almost, as regards the people of India, we might not more profitably devote to the possibilities of themselves the care which we expend on the capabilities of their soils or languages.

CIVILIAN.

ART. XI.—THE ORIGIN OF THE AFGHANS.
(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

AT a time when the tribesmen of the mountainous regions of Afghanistan are attracting so much attention, it may not be without interest to glance at the question of their origin. This inquiry has often been attempted ; but we are not satisfied either with the mode in which it has been conducted, or with the general conclusion arrived at that no certainty attaches to the matter. A hasty generalisation like this seems to us to betray either indifference to the truth, or want of capacity for appreciating evidence. Indeed, some accredited writers have put the question in terms which show plainly that they have not understood its essential conditions. Thus Mr. J. B. Fraser, the author of a historical and descriptive account of Persia, Afghanistan, and Beloochistan, in alluding to a history of the Afgans written by one Neamut Ullah in the 16th century, and translated from Persian by the Translation Society, makes the following remark :—" Their origin is obscure and probably remote. According to their own traditions, they believe themselves descended from the Jews, &c."

Now this is to confound things that are totally different. The Afghans never traced their descent from the Jews, and no one in the slightest degree acquainted with the subject has ever maintained that they are of Jewish origin. Indeed, they discard the very idea, and claim descent, not from the *Yahudi* (or Jews), but from the Israelites, or the Ten Tribes to whom the term Israel was applied after their separation from the house of David and the tribe of Judah, which tribe retained the name of *Judah* and had a distinct history ever after. These last alone are called Jews, and are distinguishable from the Beni-Israel as much in the East as in the West. Thus we have it on the authority of Dr. Geo. Moore, in a book called *The Lost Tribes* (which deserves to be far better known than it is), that " the Jews, both of Bokhara and Afghanistan, are kept distinct from those who call themselves Beni-Israel." The Afghans, according to Dr. Bellew, Colonel Malleon, and every writer of any weight call themselves *Beni-Israel*, or children of Israel. " When Sir Alexander Burnes asked Dost Mahomed Khan as to the descent of the Afghans from the Israelites, he replied that his people had no doubt of that ; though they repudiated the idea of being Jews, whom they treat with hereditary contempt. They found their belief not merely on tradition, but on an ancient record in their possession named *Mujnoo-i-unsab*. The Urz Bede, of Hajee Feroz, at Herat, possesses genealogies

tracing their descent from famous Israelites." Dr. Moore's *Lost Tribes*, pp. 153 and 154.

Primâ facie, a race or people must be supposed to know its own descent better than others know it; and, from what has been cited, the claim of the Afghans to be the children of Israel is not founded on the mere breadth of tradition, but points, as we have seen, to the page of history, such history as is to be found in manuscripts in their possession, or in monumental and other inscriptions of which we shall have to say more. In the matter of tradition also there is much misconception. Were all that has been handed down by tradition blotted out from the memory of the civilised world, its knowledge of the past would be very much of a blank. Just as, in the ordinary affairs of life, we believe, and rightly believe, much that has been neither sworn to on oath, nor tested by the rules of evidence which obtain in courts of law, so we are, doubtless, warranted in believing much that has come down to us from past generations, especially if it has left its traces on the language, manners and customs and characters of those concerned.

According to the Persian historian already cited (Neamut Ullah) the origin of the Afghans is derived from Afghan, the son of Eremia, the son of Saul. King of Israel, whose posterity, being carried away at the time of the Captivity, were settled by the conqueror in the mountains of Ghorî Cabul, Candahar, and Ghizni. "The historian goes on to say that they preserved the purity of their religion; and that when Mahomed, the greatest of the prophets, appeared, one of the nation named Kais, at the invitation of the celebrated Khaled ibn-Walid, repaired to Mecca, and, together with his countrymen, embraced Islam. Having joined the standard of the faithful, and fought in their cause, he returned to his own country, where his progeny continued to observe the new religion, to propagate its doctrines and to slay the infidels."

The above is taken from page 413 of Fraser's Account of Afghanistan, already referred to; but we are by no means disposed to dismiss this testimony, as Mr. Fraser does, with the off-hand remark: "No proof is adduced of the truth of this traditional genealogy, which assuredly has much the aspect of fable." We think that from this tangled skein the anachronisms and geographical anomalies which the ignorance of the historian has introduced into it may be easily separated, leaving a residue of consistent tradition not by any means wearing the "aspect of fable." Thus eliminating the supposed posterity of Saul through Eremia, his fabulous son, of which there is no account in the historical records of the Hebrews; and also the anachronism of the captive Israelites being settled

by their captor in the mountains of Ghorî, Cabul, Candanar, and Ghizni, cities which had no existence in the 8th and 6th centuries, before the Christian era, when the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities took place, let us see whether the rest of the record has confirmation from other quarters.

Dr. Bellew, the author of three works on the Afghans, *vis.*:—*Afghanistan and the Afghans* (1879); *Races of Afghanistan* (1880); *Ethnography of Afghanistan* (1891), makes mention of a historical work named *Tabakati Nasiri*, containing a detailed account of the conquest of this country by Changhiz Khan. This work has it that in the time of the Shansabi dynasty, there was a people called Beni Israel living in the country of Arsareth (Hazara) engaged extensively in trade. This people, about the year 622 (the year of the Hejira, or flight from Mecca, which marks the commencement of the Mahomedan era), responded to Khalid Ben Walid's invitation to join the Prophet's standard, and accompanied him, to the number of 76 persons, under the leadership of one "Kish," which Mahomed changed to Abdur Reshid and gave him the title of Pathan.

It is not difficult, we think, to see in the leader named Kish, the man who is called by the Persian historian, *Niamut Ullah*, Kais, which doubtless was the real name. The easy transition to Kish probably furnished the Beni Israel with a handle to claim descent from Kish, the father of King Saul; and they were not slow to build up such a claim.

In his *Races of Afghanistan*, Dr. Bellew seems to us to descend into bewildering distinctions of tribes, or rather small branches into which each tribe divides itself, and thus to lose sight of the great features common to all, or to the principal tribes, which should be kept steadily in view while attempting to trace the nation to its source or sources; and, in his larger work on the Ethnology of Afghanistan, he places too exclusive a reliance on Herodotus and other Greek writers, who are safe guides only to a certain point, after which they can hardly be trusted; while even Dr. Moore depends a great deal too much upon etymological speculations. While these have their use, they serve rather to start an inquiry, or to confirm a conclusion, than to afford substantial evidence of origin; while too little attention, if any, is bestowed on the customs and manners of the Afghans, which afford unmistakeable traces of their origin and descent.

What we are about to say does not perhaps apply so much to the Afridis as to other tribes; but it does to the Afghans proper.

1. The division into tribes, and their preservation of that distinction, points to their Israelitish origin. "The tribes of

Afghanistan," says the historian, Mr. Fraser, "though at the present time infinitely subdivided, continue in a great measure unmixed, each having its separate territory, and all retaining the patriarchal form of government. The term *Ooloos* is applied either to a whole tribe or to an independent branch of it. Each has its own immediate ancestor, and constitutes a complete commonwealth in itself." . . . "It is a peculiarity, however, arising probably from the internal arrangement of an Afghan tribe, that the attachment of those who compose it, unlike that of most countries, is always rather to the community than to the chief; and a native holds the interests of the former so completely paramount that the private wish of the latter would be utterly disregarded by him, if at variance with the honour or advantage of his *kheil* (clan), or *Ooloos*."

The last peculiarity emphatically applied to the tribes of Israel, who, though they had "heads of tribes" and "fathers of families" whose names they were not careful to record, were essentially *tribal*, and not *personal* in their attachments and loyalty. The tribe was descended from one ancestor, whose name they bore and even carried with them to their dispersion as far as it was possible for the *disjecta membra* of the scattered nation to do so, while the territorial designation followed that of the family.

2. The practice of private revenge, though denounced by the Mollahs, is sanctioned by public opinion. The death of a kinsman must be avenged by some member of his clan. This was the traditionary practice among the Hebrews, where the well-known *goel*, or kinsman, had a function to discharge which the law of Moses could not extinguish, though it fenced it round with safeguards and kept it from being abused; just as the Mahomedan Mollahs have been unable to do away with the same thing among the Afghans.

3. The *lex talionis* is the guide to punishment in their Criminal Code, although they conform in civil matters to the Mahomedan law. The measure of retribution, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is rigidly enforced.

4. The duty enjoined by the Mosaic law upon a man to marry the childless widow of a deceased brother and so raise up seed unto the departed, finds its parallel in the Afghan usage which makes it "incumbent on a man to marry the widow of a deceased brother," with this difference, that the widow need not be childless in order to enforce this obligation. She, however, is not obliged to enter into a new engagement, and if she have children it is thought more becoming for her to remain single.

5. Another remarkable custom which marks the Israelitish origin of the Afghans, is their mode of inflicting capital punish-

ment, *vis.*, by stoning—not by hanging, crucifying, or beheading; not by burying alive or burning; not by the ancient artillery, which meant the bow and arrow; not by poisoning or drowning, did Moses command that criminals should be put to death; but by *stoning*. That the Ameer of Afghanistan practises this mode of execution, we have a lively recollection in connection with the death, a few years ago, of his mutinous officer, Timur Shah, who was stoned, not till he was dead, but only till he was half dead, and who was found still alive under the heap of stones the following morning. Stoning, as a mode of execution, was unique among the Hebrews, and is exemplified both in the Old Testament and in the New, and stamps, in our judgment, the Israelitish character of the Afghans.

6. The last custom which we care to point to as distinctly Israelitish is that of circumcision.

The fact that this rite existed among them before their conversion to the Mahomedan religion, has an evidential value not to be overlooked. The value of this evidence of origin has been greatly discounted by the alleged fact that circumcision has been practised extensively in eastern countries and even in Africa and in Mexico. But the extensive dispersion of the Ten Tribes, as shown in Dr. Moore's book, would account for this. We do not contend that the Afghans comprised *all* the descendants of those tribes; but that *they* are *among* the descendants of Israel. The Ten Tribes wandered far and wide and carried with them their peculiar rite; and, considering its character—that it was perfectly arbitrary, and such as is not suggested by any law of nature, or necessity of the human constitution, it seems far more probable that it originated in one known source (Abraham), than that it sprung into existence in different nations. It is true that Herodotus found it among the Egyptians; but it may have got there through the Israelites during their sojourn in Egypt. The Moslems of Arabia, where their religion originated, undoubtedly derived it from Ishmael, who was a son of the old Patriarch. Accordingly we are inclined to regard its existence among the Afghans before their conversion to Islam, as due to their Israelitish origin.

Let us try and follow the Ten Tribes from the time (740 B.C.) of their deportation from Palestine to the latest period at which they can be traced. They were not removed all together: there were several captivities.

Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria is said, about the middle of the 8th century before the Christian era, to have carried the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh captives beyond the Euphrates and placed them in Halah, Habor, Hara and "by the river Gozan." (1 Chron. V. 26.)

Shortly after, the same king took all the land of Galilee (Naphtali) captives into Assyria, and is supposed to have placed them in the same region as the former captives (2 Kings XV. 29).

The subjugation and captivity of Israel were completed by Shalmaneser in 721 (B.C.), and he placed his captives in Halah Hara, and in Habor by "the river of Gozan" the same parts of the empire of Assyria as those had occupied who had been transported by Tiglath Pileser), and in the cities of the Medes. (2nd Kings XVII, 6.)

From the above it is evident that the captivities of the Ten Tribes under the Kings of Assyria had the effect of placing them in the regions of Mesopotamia and Media. The deportation of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, 100 years later, was a different affair altogether, and one which does not concern us at present, as their return to Judea did not involve that of the Israelites. We see from Josephus (Ant. Jud. XI V., 2) that, so late as his time, which was in the latter part of the first century of the Christian era, they were still beyond the Euphrates, "an immense multitude and not to be estimated by numbers." It is of their leaving those parts, and of the course they took that Dr Moore treats in his book—tracing numbers of them to Afghanistan by a route which bears marks of their journey and which we shall glance at presently.

In this connection we should have been glad to cite, in corroboration, the verdict of Dr. Bellew, were it not marred by an error so gross that we should not have expected it in so intelligent a writer. He says (Ch. II): "The traditions of this people (Afghans) refer them to Syria as the country of their residence at the time they were carried away into captivity by Buktunassar (Nebuchadnezzar) and planted as colonists in different parts of Persia and Media. From these positions they, at some subsequent period, emigrated eastward into the mountainous country of Ghor, where they were called by the neighbouring peoples 'Beni Afghan' and 'Beni Israel,' or children of Afghan and children of Israel." "In corroboration of this," continues Dr. Bellew, "we have the testimony of the prophet Esdras, to the effect that the Ten Tribes of Israel, who were carried into captivity, subsequently escaped and found refuge in the country of Arsareth, which is supposed to be identical with the Hazara country of the present day, of which Ghor forms a part."

Premising that the learned Doctor has, in the above passage, confounded the Babylonish captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, which related to Jerusalem and the Jews, with the Assyrian captivity, which embraced the Ten Tribes of Israel, with whom alone we have to do, let us see what Esdras

said. The allusion doubtless is to the 2nd Book of Esdras, Ch. XIII, ver. 39 to 46, in which we read : " And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him, those are the Ten Tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea, the King, whom Salmanasar, the King of Assyria, led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, so they came into another land. *But* they took this counsel among themselves that they would leave the multitude of the heathen and go forth into a *further* country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river (in Armenia). For the Most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half ; and the same region is called Arsareth."

Although the book of Esdras is Apocryphal, the passage indicates what was believed by the Jews about the Ten Tribes at an early period. As regards Arsareth, " I presume," says Dr. Moore, " that the word may be fairly and properly rendered by its exact equivalent Oriens the Orient, the land of the Orientals, the country always called Oriental."

Taking this passage for what it is worth, it is historical evidence of the fact that the Ten Tribes left the place of their captivity for an abode more to their minds in the East.

In meeting the question where the Israelities went, Dr. Moore thinks it most probable that they went into Scythia. For the Scythians had occupied Mesopotamia and Media under circumstances favourable to the Israelites, who were alike enemies of Persia and Assyria. It was natural for them to be on good terms with the Scythians against a common enemy. Add to which, traces of the Ten Tribes are found amongst the Scythians to the east of the Caspian Sea, in Sogdiana, Bactriana, Independent Tartary and Bokhara.

We have no space to enter into the details of evidence scattered in different writers and brought together by Dr. Moore ; but we cannot resist the temptation to quote the following summary from his book : " The prominent reasons for thinking that the people of Bokhara [Bactriana] and Afghanistan [Ariana] are of Israelite origin are these :—*First*, their personal resemblance to the Hebrew family. Thus Dr. Wolfe, the Jewish Missionary, says : ' I was wonderfully struck with the resemblance of the Youssoufszye (tribe of Joseph) and the Khybere, two of their tribes, to the Jews.' Moorcroft also says of the Khyberes. ' They are tall and of singularly Jewish cast of features.' *Second*, they have been

named by themselves Beni Israel, children of Israel, from time immemorial. *Third*, the names of their tribes are Israelitish, especially that of Joseph, which includes Ephraim and Manasseh. In the Book of Revelation the tribe of Joseph stands for Ephraim. (Rev. VII., 6—8). In Numbers XXXVI, 5. Moses speaks of Manasseh as the tribe of the sons of Joseph; so that it is clear that both Manasseh and Ephraim were known by the name of the tribe of Joseph. *Fourth*, the Hebrew names of places and persons in Afghanistan are of far greater frequency than can be accounted for through Mahometan association; and, indeed, these names existed before the Afghans became Mahometans. *Fifth*, all accounts agree that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore from a very remote antiquity. It is certain that the princes of Ghore belonged to the Afghan tribe of Sooree, and that their dynasty was allowed to be of very great antiquity even in the eleventh century. They seem early to have possessed the mountains of Solimann, or Solomon, comprehending all the southern mountains of Afghanistan (Elphinstone). *Sixth*, Afghan is the name given to their nation by others; the name they give their nation is Push-toon, and Drs. Carey and Marshman assert that the Push-toon language has more Hebrew roots than any other. *Seventh*, the Afghans are also called Botans, or by corruption, Patans. They account for this name by stating that they lived as Jews until the first century of Mahometism when Kaled, the Caliph, summoned them to fight against the infidels. Their leader, Kyse, on that occasion, was styled Botan, or *mast*. This word is Arabic and signifies the possession of authority." [Pp. 145 to 147.]

Dr. Moore adds that the more ancient name of Afghanistan was Cabul, which it still retains; observing, moreover, that Ptolemy, in his geography of these parts, locates the *Aristophylli*, that is to say the *noble tribes*, in juxtaposition with the *Cabolitae*, which probably also means the tribes, Cabail being the Arabic for tribes. He makes no doubt that the tribes were Israelitish tribes such as they now assume themselves to be.

With reference to the fourth of the above heads, Dr. Bellew, in his *Races of Afghanistan* (pp. 74 and 75), puts in a caveat against "jumping to conclusions from mere names," "by adducing the fact that the Yuzufzais call themselves "Bani-Israil" and "descendants of Joseph," though he admits that, in support of their belief, they could point to many places which bear the names of historical spots in Palestine, *e.g.*, the hill Peor (Pehor), the mount Moriah (Morah), the peaks of Ilam and Dumah, the valley of Sodom (Sudhum), the stream of the Gadarenes

(Gadhar), plain of the Galilee (Jalala), &c. To which we may add that the very name Takht-i-Suleiman (the throne of Solomon) has its counter-part in the region (Media) where the captive Israelities were placed by the kings of Assyria; for we find a mountain near Ecbatana bearing this identical name "Takht-i-Suleiman." Emigrants, notoriously those from our own country to America and the colonies, carry with them names of places from the home-land, which they apply to spots in the new country. It is therefore not a far-fetched inference that the Israelites did so in Afghanistan.

Perhaps the most striking and conclusive proof of the Afghans being Israelites is the fact, in favour of which Dr. Moore makes out a strong case, that the Arian language spoken by the inhabitants of Ariana, the ancient name of the country, now known as Afghanistan, was Hebrew "in the period extending from the commencement of the Greco-Bactrian dominion to the commencement of the third century of our era." Dr. Moore's sources of proof are inscriptions on coins and inscriptions on bas-reliefs and monuments as well as rock temples and sepulchres. The investigations into which he goes are too elaborate for us to even attempt to examine them here. All we can do within our limits is to indicate, as clearly and briefly as we can, the method of enquiry and the principal results arrived at.

Dr. Moore, we ought to explain, goes into a learned investigation into the origin and history of the Sacæ, a tribe of Scythians who, he maintains, sprang from the same source as the Saxons and Goths of the West. "I think," he says, "that those (Israelites) who dwelt in Assyria acquired the name of Sacæ, and those in Media will be found in the Budii (Βουδίοι) said by Herodotus to be a tribe of the Medes," pp. 105 and 106.

Into the facts and circumstances (in which etymological affinities and analogies enter largely) by which Dr. Moore connects the Sacæ with the Saxons, and the Budii with the Buddhists, it is impossible for us to follow him. The connection of the former with the Afghans is all that we are concerned in tracing in this paper. That connection may be briefly traced as follows. The Sacæ, or Saka-rauli, became so powerful as to place a king on the Parthian throne called "king of kings." "They were probably Afghans," says Dr. Moore, "having descended from the north-eastern borders of Sogdiana, through Bactria, into the country then known as Ariana, now Afghanistan. These are the people, the Sacæ, whom Alexander could not subdue and therefore courted as friends." They were often in conflict with the Greeks and sometimes under their dominion, "as we find from their numerous coins discovered in Afghanistan (Cablistan) on which both Greek and so-called Arian inscriptions and devices appear."

It is sufficient for our purpose here to note that Dr. Moore shows that the Arian or Bactrian language is Hebrew, and that it was spoken in Afghanistan from the beginning of the Græco-Bactrian dominion to the commencement of the third century of our era." In regard to these coins Dr. Moore relies much on Prinsep's *Historical Results, deducible from recent Discoveries in Afghanistan*. First we have pure Greek coins, next Arsacian and then Sassanian, when the Græco-Parthian dominion in Central Asia closed, during the greater part of which period an Ario-Parthian dynasty reigned over Cabul and the Punjab. But after A. D. 80 a new order of coins is found, with legends in corrupt Greek. From one of them, of which a plate is given, it appears that, under the dominion of Kadphises, 'king of kings,' Buddhism was recognised as the State religion. The legend on the obverse is in the so-called Arian, which reads from right to left of which no satisfactory translation has been offered, but which Dr. Moore attempts (apparently with success) to interpret by transliterating into modern Hebrew letters. In doing so, he finds not only the corresponding Hebrew letters, but Hebrew *words* which make sense. The resulting Hebrew sentence literally translated is : "*From my glory prosperity extended to them all, light extended ; but only because his recompense was with me.*"

This is sufficiently remarkable. If the transliteration into Hebrew results in Hebrew words which make sense in that language (but of this Hebrew scholars alone could be judges, a clue is discovered, the importance of which can hardly be overrated ; for it would conduct a specialist over inscriptions found wherever Buddhist remains exist and shed light on the darkest corners of history. The coin given above is not the only one the legend of which Dr. Moore interprets. Another coin has "*Kadphises worships according to the cutting off (or covenant) of the burning of Kash, the seat of Saka.*"

The next inscription we come to is over a bas-relief at the south gate of the great tope of Sanchi (Sâchi) on the banks of the Betwa, and about 20 miles to the north-east of Bhupal. The bas-relief, composed of several figures, kingly and otherwise, is called by Major Cunningham : *The Casket scene in the Palace* ; but of the inscription he candidly acknowledges, "I cannot even make a guess at its meaning." Being transliterated into Hebrew by Dr. Moore, its meaning becomes evident.

Oh Sak, my glory thine image shall be for a festival, a mountain of refuge for those who come from afar, from Makath.

"We shall find," says Dr. Moore, "from numerous other inscriptions, that the person honoured by such celebrations under the name of *Sak* is the same as *Godama*. *Sakya* seems

to be the Sanskrit name of this individual, and his history is extensively known in Buddhistic annals as the founder of Buddhism in its recent forms." Sakya Muni is a name familiar to Indians.

While engaged in comparing various alphabets employed in the East, Dr. Moore came upon a number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in which there are several inscriptions taken from the Budh caves near Joonur, communicated by Col. Sykes. No interpretation was attempted at the time; but Col. Sykes asked whether the inscriptions might not be a very ancient form of the Sanskrit alphabet, as "Budh letters are prevalent in old Sanskrit inscriptions in the ratio of the antiquity of the inscription." Competent judges such as Mr. James Prinsep and Professor Wilson, agree in thinking that the ancient Budh alphabet is really the simpler and more elegant origin of the more refined Sanskrit alphabet. In copying these characters, with their equivalents in Hebrew letters, as they stood in the few inscriptions found at Joonur, a new interest was excited in Dr. Moore by the fact that the *words themselves appeared to be Hebrew*.

Nothing can surpass the interest to Archæologists, of the discovery of a Hebrew inscription in a rock-temple in India—not, indeed, in Hebrew characters as now known; but in letters which seem to have formed the basis of the Sanskrit alphabet. This is not the place to follow Dr. Moore through all the inscriptions at Joonur, or more properly in the Lainahdree caves North of Joonur, in the Poona Collectorate, or at Byrath, Girnār, Delhi, and elsewhere. It is enough for us to note the fact that he has successfully transcribed them into Hebrew (by transliteration of letters) and filled pages upon pages with translations in English, both readable and intelligible; a result impossible save on the hypothesis that the language spoken at the time when the inscriptions were made was Hebrew. The result, we take it, would be very similar were a Hindustani or Urdu book, written in Roman characters, rendered back into the Arabic or Persian character.

Our present concern, however, is with Afghans, as to whom we would draw no other inference than such as might be drawn in respect of any other people in whose midst we found inscriptions in a language unintelligible save as being Hebrew: *viz.*, that the authors of those inscriptions spoke Hebrew. Nawá-grám, Kharkí, Paja and other places within our border wait to tell their tale; while Swat, Bajawur and Buner beyond the frontier teem with silent relics of the past. Doubtless, much remains yet to be explored, and more light may be expected when Cabulistan can be freely visited. But meantime let our readers note the following remarkable facts.

1. In a village named *Kapur-di-giri* inhabited by the Yusufzais, on a rock on the side of a rocky and abrupt hill, has been found an inscription which Dr. Moore has transliterated into modern Hebrew characters and given in full. Like the Hebrew, this inscription reads from right to left. A plate of the engraved rock from a *facsimile* taken by C. Masson, Esq., together with clear specimens of the characters, and an exposition of the alphabet, is given at No. XVI of the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, by its Secretary, Mr. E. Norris. "We are indebted to this gentleman's patience and ingenuity" says Dr. Moore, "for the means of reading the *Kapur-di-giri* inscription, and other writings in the so-called Arian or Bactrian character—a character in use for several centuries throughout that extensive line of country over which the Selencidæ and their successors held dominion, that is to say, from the Paropamisus, or Indian Caucasus, to the upper part of the Punjab, including all Bactria, Hindu Cush and Afghanistan."

2. In Jellalabad, in the Cabul Valley, there are very many sepulchral topes, and in adjacent places. In a brass cylinder found in a tope, or *tumulus*, in Jellalabad, is found an inscription which, being transliterated from the Arian character into modern Hebrew, reads thus :

"Like the generation of the deceased, *Kadiphesh* was holy ; their race was that of the *Paradas* abiding in the wheel of the Almighty. Why is the covering I bestow on them that which destroyeth ? The mountain of the dead (*i.e.*, the *tumulus*) shall be holy for the poor, my *Paradas* (scattered), even for them. Their bows are their covering."

The Kadiphesh here named is probably the same as the *Kadiphises* previously mentioned.

3. In a tope in the village of Manikyala, on the high road from Attok to Lahore, was found a tope, or tomb, 80 feet high, with a circumference of 320 feet. It is built of quarried stones with lime cement. It was explored by General Ventura, who, proceeding downward from the summit, found various deposits at different depths. Among these were coins stamped and unstamped ; also a brass cylinder with an inscription. The Kings, named *Kanerkes*, are habited precisely like Kadphises. They bear two remarkable words, *Nanajah* and *Elias*, at the back of figures of Godama. The words are in Greek letters ; but they have no meaning in that language, though they have full significance in Hebrew. The inscription on the cylinder in which, imbedded in an animal substance, were found gold, pearl and crystal, has been transliterated into Hebrew characters, and reads thus :

Thus was the exalted deceased also released ; raise up your heart, the deceased, their healer reposes in perfect happiness.

An inscription on a silver disc has also been transliterated :
A protection from the hand of Badh, even Badh.

Another on the stone which covers all the relics, resolves itself into two sentences which have been translated in like manner, but which we have not space to reproduce. It is enough that these inscriptions, one and all, are made up of Hebrew words in the Arian character.

The theory of the Israelitish origin of the Afghans has been discussed before ; but we venture to think that the materials glanced at in the foregoing brief remarks, have an evidential weight which goes far to settle the question.

T. C. L.

ART. XII.—A CURIOSITY OF LITERATURE.

THE genius and character of Sir Walter Scott maintain a permanent interest wherever the English language extends. But there was in his mental constitution a strange bias ; and his just and manly nature was not incompatible with a gratuitous delight in secretiveness which often assumed most unusual forms. Some of these were, doubtless, quite innocent, and never intended to deceive any one : the most simple-minded readers could hardly misunderstand the real character and meaning of the phantom collaborators to whom was assigned the sponsorship of many of what are now known, collectively, as "The Waverley Novels," Captain Clutterbuck, Jedediah Cleishbotham, etc.

But, in another direction, Scott made more determined and more successful efforts to mislead the public as to some of his works. About the time when he was engaged, anonymously, in opening the great gold mine of his prose romances—say between 1813 and 1817—he resolved to make a final attempt to command attention as a poet, yet shrank from exposing his name to the chance of failure. In March, 1813, the Hallantynes brought out the first of these cryptic pieces under the title of "The Bidal of Triermain ;" and some pains were taken to persuade readers that the poem was an imitation of the great Minstrel by a Scottish Judge, William Erskine, whose forensic title was Lord Kinneder. The critics were completely bamboozled, pronouncing the parody clever, but obviously by a weaker hand ; and it was not until two large editions had been exhausted that any knowledge of the true authorship became general. One exception, however, there was : Wilson, in *Blackwood*, observing that the poem was less based on Scott's "Lay" and other poems than on the "Christabel" of S. T. Coleridge, which was written on a canon of metre different from Scott's and claimed by Coleridge as an invention of his own. The *Blackwood* article, which, however, did not appear until four years after the poem, concluded with a hint, strong enough for the comprehension of the elect, that Scott was the author.

Scott's share in the mystification was kept up till his friend, Erskine, would have no more of the vicarious honour ; and in 1817 a second venture of the same kind appeared under the rubric of "Harold the Dauntless." Once more the critics—Wilson this time being one of them—were deluded and unanimously pronounced the poem an inferior imitation of Scott.

In this, to be sure, they were not so far wrong : " Harold," even though Scott was the author, was little better than a pale simulacrum of " Marmion ;" and was miles below " Triermain " in every kind of merit.

The question remains, to what are we to attribute the grace and beauty of the last named poem, surpassing, in some important respects, the best of the metrical tales published with the full avowal of the author's name ? No reader of poetical sensibility can fail to notice the charm of the interlude of Arthur and his Lucy, with its modern passion and delicate humour ; while the descriptions of scenery and adventure in the main story are a brilliant anticipation of Tennyson, with a touch lighter and more masterly than one often finds in " The Idylls of the King." The metre, too, as observed in Blackwood, is more free and accentuated than is usual in Scott's poems, and in many places appears modelled on " Christabel."

A great difficulty, however, arises out of the dates. " Christabel " was not published till 1816—the year before Wilson's article : and the early part of " Triermain " was published, in a periodical, as far back as 1809 : but it is precisely this early part which shows most strongly the new influence.

Finally, to deepen the darkness yet more, comes the startling discovery that the name of Scott's hero is the name of Christabel's father :—

" SIR ROLAND de VAUX OF TRYERMAINE."

There are but two explanations of this unparalleled imbroglío. There is a school of mystics who teach that genius is a modified form of epilepsy, in which the possessed being is subject to hallucinations that defy all known laws of nature. It is on record that Scott dictated his wonderful prose romance, " The Biide of Lammermoor," from a sick bed, and on his recovery had forgotten all about it, so as to be able to read his own tale with all the zest of a " general reader." The mystics may say that in some such abnormal state he may have had previsions of a poem that was unpublished, even to the extent of anticipating a whole string of names and borrowing his very title.

Those to whom this explanation appears, itself, inexplicable, must fall back on a more pedestrian theory. Byron had seen " Christabel " in M. S. before 1816 ; for it was by his advice that it was first published in that year. The first part of the poem, which is all that counts—was, indeed, composed at Nether Stowey before the close of the eighteenth century ; and, if Byron saw it in M.S., Scott may have had a similar privilege ; in which case his being influenced by the poem, weird

and unique as it is, may admit of a natural explanation. Not the less, however, will the matter remain a monument to Scott's extraordinary love of hoaxing, as also, indeed to the critical acumen of Christopher North.

H. G. KEENE.

ART XIII.—NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

No. II.

Continued from the Calcutta Review for January 1896. No. 203.

IN this paper I propose to give short natural history accounts of the animals, birds and reptiles which, on a visit paid by me to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens on the 6th October 1897, appeared to me to be altogether new to the collection there.

Proceeding towards the Ruminantia Paddocks at the southern extremity of the Gardens, and beginning our inspection from the easternmost of the enclosures in which the Committee's collection of the ruminating animals is lodged, we come to the second paddock, wherein at present lives a specimen of the beautiful and interesting Guatemalan Deer (*Cariacus punctulatus*, Gray). This handsome member of the deer tribe has its home in Guatemala and the neighbouring countries of South America. The animal now exhibited in these gardens was presented in 1805 by Captain L. Doherr, of the S. S. *Baroda*, who brought it in his ship all the way from South America and very generously made a gift of it to the Committee. Curious visitors will be surprised to find that its ears are unfortunately cut and at a loss to make out the cause of this mutilation. The history of its lopped ears is somewhat interesting; and it will not, I hope, be out of place to give it here as told by Captain Doherr himself:—"The animal was reared by a Gaucho, to whom it was much attached, and who allowed it to roam about in the woods during the day. He was, however anxious for its return home every night, and to ensure this, he resorted to the ingenious but cruel expedient of cutting off its ears, with a view to cause the heavy dew to get inside the ears. This rendered the animal very uncomfortable and drove it to seek shelter at home. Even now the animal is fond of being under shelter rather than outside."

The Guatemalan deer belongs to the genus *Cariacus* in which all the American deer, with the exception of the wapiti, reindeer, elk, and the two Pudu-deer (*Pudua*) of the Chilian Andes and Ecuador, are included. The main characteristic of the deer of the genus *Cariacus* is that their antlers, when fully developed, divide in a more or less regularly fork-like manner. In some species the antlers are large and branching, whereas in certain of the smaller forms they are in the

form of simple spikes. The muzzle of these deer bears a similarity to that of the *Cervidae*; their tail is of variable length; and the peltage of the adults is characterised by uniform coloration. Their geographical distribution is confined to almost the whole of the American Continent. But it is only in the southern portion of the Continent that the members of the genus attain their maximum development.

Proceeding towards the north, we come to a paddock nearly opposite to the Sonebursa enclosures for Kangaroos and Rheas, which contains a pair of the Red Deer of Europe (*Cervus elaphus*, Linn.). One of the specimens is an albino, as the whole of its coat is uniformly white while the other specimen is of a dirty grey colour. The present pair was presented to the Calcutta Gardens by the Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad. The Red Deer, or Stag, together with the North American Wapiti (*Cervus Canadensis*), is included in the typical, or Elaphine, group of the genus *Cervus*, and is characterised by the presence of a second, or bez-tine, to the antlers, when these reach their highest development; the beam of each antler is rounded, and splits up near its summit, into a larger or smaller number of points, which in some species form a cup. In some of the old castles in Germany are preserved pairs of horns of this animal which far exceed in dimensions anything to be now met with in England, or even in the forests of Central Europe, where the heads still attain greater dimensions than in Scotland. The tail is short in length; and there is a large light-coloured patch on the buttocks all round the base of the tail. The remainder of the body is coloured uniformly brown. The Red Deer, which inhabits some of the forest of Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, has the antlers, when developed to their fullest extent, as in a "royal hart," forming a distinct cup at the summits. The stags living in the more northern parts are smaller in size. In England, Red Deer are found on Exmoor, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in some parts of Ireland.

It is a very handsome animal and, when full-grown, stands over 4 feet at the withers. The male stags possess antlers, and are rather larger and stronger than the females. Their voice is also deeper, for they bellow very loudly when enraged or when challenging their rivals. They are very pugnacious in their habits, often fighting fiercely, and the combats sometimes proving fatal even to both the combatants, for their antlers sometimes get interlocked inextricably. During the combats the projecting brow-tines are very effectively used as deadly weapons. The Red Deer breeds in September or October; but the young are not born till the end of May or the begin-

ing of June. As in the majority of the *Cervidæ*, the young are at first slightly spotted with white. In the first year the young male has only a hint of antlers, in the second year only small unbranched beams; subsequently a tine is added every year.

Leaving the Ruminantia Paddocks, we direct our steps towards the Gubboy House. In one of the table-cages to the west are a pair of the white-fronted Lemur of Madagascar (*Lemur albifrons*, Geoffr.) These animals are altogether new to the collection; and their conspicuous feature is that their foreheads are entirely patched with white—a feature from which their specific designation, *albifrons*, is derived. In close proximity are cages in which are a pair each of the allied Ruffed Lemur (*L. varius*, Geoffr.) and Mongoose Lemur (*L. mongoz*, Linn.), both of the latter being also found in the island of Madagascar. The true Lemurs (*Lemur*) have fore and hind limbs of nearly equal length, toes free to the base, and 36 teeth in the adult. They are further characterised by the elongated muzzle, the conspicuous, tufted ears, and the separation of the upper incisor teeth both from one another and from the canines; the two teats of the female being situated on the breast. They are very variable in their coloration, being marked with various shades of red, brown and black. Eight species of animals belonging to the genus *Lemur* are at present known to naturalists. The Lemurs are strictly nocturnal in their habits and are more quadrupedal in their movements than the Lemurs of the genera *Indris* and *Propithecus*, moving about both on the ground and in trees with great activity. The white-fronted, Ruffed and Mongoose Lemurs live on a mixed diet, and the females of these species carry their offspring singly and transversely across the lower part of their bodies.

Leaving the Lemurs' cages, we move eastwards and find, in one of the table cages in the eastern part of the house, a young specimen of the white-throated Capuchin (*Cebus hypoleucus*, Humb.), of Central America, which has been acquired by purchase. The most conspicuous feature of this species of the Capuchin Monkey is a large patch of white which marks the upper part of the chest, throat and chin—from which it derives its specific name of *white-throated*. The specimen on exhibition at Alipur is of very lively habits and greedily consumed the numerous bits of plantain which the visitors gave it. In a table-cage elsewhere in this house are a pair of the Weeper Capuchin of Brazil (*C. Capucinus*, Geoffr.). So lovers of natural history may compare the two species and observe their specific distinctions. The Weeper Capuchin has a coat of uniform brown coloration, whereas

the white-throated species is characterised by the large white patch on its throat.

The Sapajons, or Capuchin monkeys, are a genus of numerous dull-coloured species of rather stout build, having limbs of moderate length, the peltage not wooly, the thumb fully developed, and the lower surface of the tip of the tail covered with hair. Although the difficulty of distinguishing the various species of Capuchin monkeys is very much increased by the variations of coloration which are to be found in many of them, and which seem to indicate transitions from one species to another, yet about eighteen species of the genus *Cetus* are at present known to naturalists, and are distributed over the region which extend from Mexico to Paraguay. As the Capuchin monkeys are comparatively hardy, and, being of gentle disposition, easily tamed, trained specimens of them are more frequently carried about in England and in other European countries by the itinerant organ grinders than any other of their kith and kin. On account of the tip being completely covered with hair the Capuchin monkeys cannot use their tail as a fifth hand so thoroughly as the Spider monkeys do.

Then leaving the Gubboy House, we proceed to the Murshidabad House. In the central compartment is a cage containing a fine specimen of the Lesser Bird of Paradise (*Paradisea minor*, Shaw.) from New Guinea, which the Committee of the gardens have been fortunate enough to acquire by exchange. This species is altogether new to the collection. In close proximity to it is a cage which contains a specimen of the Greater Bird of Paradise (*P. apoda*, Linn.) from the same island. Ornithologists specially interested in this group of birds have now the rare opportunity of studying two allied species side by side. To lay observers, the only difference between the two species appears to be their relative sizes. The Birds of Paradise belong to a group allied to the crows, but differ from the true crows in the structure of the feet, the outer toe being longer than the inner, but shorter than the middle one. Their nest and eggs are corvine, and they are really nothing but gorgeously colored crows. Their chief characteristic is the possession of extraordinary tufts and plumes which adorn their gaudy plumage. These Birds of Paradise live in the forests of the Papuan islands and the Moluccas, and are very plentiful in some localities such as the Aru Islands. Their plumes are very much prized as ornaments for ladies' bonnets.

Leaving the Murshidabad House, we next proceed to the Reptile House where we find in one of the northern wall-cages a specimen of the Horrid Rattle-snake of America (*Crotalus horridus*, Linn.), which has been acquired by exchange. This snake is not only altogether new to the collection, but also the

first of its kind ever seen in India. These snakes derive their distinctive name from the possession of that curious jointed hairy appendage to their tail which is commonly known as the rattle. It is said that, the longer a rattle-snake lives, the more joints it has to its rattle. At present eleven species of Rattle-snake are known to naturalists, all of which inhabit the dry sandy districts of North America, only one of them ranging to South America. In parts of North America, these snakes frequently take up their abode in the burrows of the Prairie-Marmot (*Cynomys ludovicianus*), where they prey on the young of the rightful owners. In the colder regions of North America, these snakes become torpid during the winter months; and in certain rocky districts they formerly used to congregate in large numbers, living through the winter months huddled up together in caves, where they kept one another warm. Curiously enough, the rattle-snakes do not possess the power of hissing; and it is believed that this disability has some connection with the presence of the rattle.

Retracing our steps towards the Murshidabad House, we cross the iron-bridge across the arm of the serpentine and proceed to the Surnomoyi House. In the north-eastern compartment of the central cages of this house are specimens of the Long-billed Francolin of the Malayan peninsula (*Rhizothera longirostris*, Temm.), which have been acquired by purchase, as also specimens of the Large Stone Plover of India (*Esacus recurvirostris*, Cuv.). Both these birds are altogether new to the collection.

The long-billed Francolin is, as its name signifies, distinguished by its long bill and inhabits the souther portion of the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, and the lowlands of Borneo. In the highlands of the latter island, on Mount Dulit, at an elevation of 4,000 feet, the *longirostris* is replaced by Hose's Long-billed Francolin (*Rh. dulitensis*).

The Large Stone Plover is one of the two Indian and Malayan representatives of the birds (Stone-Plovers) belonging to the sub-order *Œdicnemi*. These Stone-Plovers, with their great yellow eyes and stout legs, form the connecting link between the plovers and the bustards. They have holorhinal nostrils like the latter, and in many anatomical characters are more like the latter sub-order (*Otides*) than the *Charadrii*. They inhabit the temperate and tropical portions of the Old World, and re-occur in Central and South America.

Proceeding to the Buckland Enclosure, we find that it is now tenanted by a specimen each of three species of Tapirs, namely, the Brazilian Tapir (*Tapirus americanus*, Gmel.) from South America; the Hairy Tapir of Columbia (*T. roulini*, Fischer); and the Malayan Tapir (*T. indicus*, Desm.) from Malacca. Of

these the Brazilian and the Columbian species, now on exhibition at Alipore, are altogether new to the collection and deserving of special notice. In 1892-93 the Committee acquired, by exchange with Mr. Carl Hagenbeck, the well-known dealer in wild animals of Hamburg, a specimen of the Baird's Tapir (*T. bairdi*, Gill.) from Central America. The collection of these animals then owned by the Committee was unique in its comprehensive character, as it included four, out of the five, living species of Tapirs. Even now, the collection of these animals, including as it does three out of the five existing species, is well worth of careful inspection; and lovers of natural history have now the rare opportunity of studying three species side by side. The Brazilian Tapir was obtained by exchange from the Zoological Society of London.

The Tapir, as also the Horse and the Rhinoceros, belong to that section of the *Ungulata*, known as the *Perissodactyla*. It has four toes on the front foot and three toes on the hind foot, but, as regards some of its anatomical characteristics, it is more closely allied to the rhinoceros than to the horse. The most conspicuous feature of the tapir is the somewhat elongated proboscis, which is used by it for conveying food to its mouth. Its eyes are small and unintelligent, and its coloration is peculiar, as the hinder portions of the sides, back and belly are nearly white, while the rest of the animal is glossy black. Its peltage consists of short hair; its tail is very short; and the ears are pointed and their bases white behind. It inhabits the tropical swamps and forests of both hemispheres, being most numerous in the American Continent. In its wild state, it lives almost exclusively on the leaves of trees; its favourite feeding time being either early morning or after sunset. During the day time it either sleeps or lies down lazily. It always frequents the neighbourhood of water, in which it is fond of swimming and diving. At the time of our visit, we found the Malayan Tapir indulging in a swim in the tank attached to its enclosure, while the Columbian Tapir was quietly taking a siesta under the shade of a tree, and the Brazilian Tapir was standing listlessly in its den, as if afraid to venture into the broad daylight. We tried our best to induce it to leave its den and come out into the compound, but to no purpose, as it would not budge an inch from its habitation. The Tapirs are very shy and gentle in their habits. At present, five living species of Tapirs are known to Zoologists, which are very interesting an account of their remarkable geographical distribution, one of the species being found in the Malayana, while the other four inhabit the forest tracts of Tropical America and, in some cases, range high into the Andes Mountains. This discontinuous distribution is best accounted for by the evidence

available from geology, which shows that, at some former period of the world's history, the Tapirs were widely spread all over the intervening countries, through China, Kamtschatka, and North-West America. In fact, a fossil Tapir has been discovered in China, the teeth of which are in such a perfect state of preservation as to show that the Chinese species has become extinct only recently. The Malayan species bears a closer affinity to two of the American species than the latter do to their compatriots. The Tapir sometimes breeds in captivity, the female Brazilian Tapir in the London Zoological Gardens having given birth to a young one on the 12th February, 1882, and a female Malayan Tapir in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens having produced a young one on the 26th May, 1877, and again on the 24th October, 1883. The young of all the five species are marked with longitudinal stripes of yellow or white.

Then, retracing our steps towards the Burdwan House, we came to the large iron built cage which is at present tenanted by a pair of the great Condor of South America (*Sarcorhamphus gryphus*, Linn.), which have been recently acquired by the Committee and are now exhibited in the Alipore Menagerie for the first time. This grand bird of prey belongs to the order *Cathartidiformes*, to which the Turkey vultures of the New World belong. They differ from the Old World vultures by the possession of a very peculiar nostril, of which the septum or partition is perforated, so that it can be seen through. The hind toe is small, but is situated above the level of the other toes. The beak is also constricted at the end of the "cere," and the feathers have no after-shaft. This magnificent bird is the largest and most powerful of the Vulture family, though many of the stories about its size and strength are much exaggerated. The male Condor is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, the female being slightly smaller. The expanse of its wing probably never exceeds twelve feet. Its general coloration is black with a steel-blue lustre, but some of the feathers are grayish. There is a downy white ruff all round the dull-red, naked neck. The beak is long, hooked at the culmen, black at the base, yellow at the point and on the sides. The head is bare of feathers, and in the male bird bears a large fleshy comb. The eyes look sideways; and its nose, as already stated, is perforated. The voice resembles a weak sort of snorting. The feet are not at all well adapted for grasping. The stories current about condors lifting their prey bodily from the ground with their feet appear to be pure myths. The condor has its home in the Andes of South America, but ranges to some other mountainous regions of the same Continent. It breeds on the heights of the mountains, laying two eggs on bare ledges in the months of November and December. Its

powers of flight are very great and display some curious phenomena which have been carefully observed and recorded by Mr. Darwin in his "*Naturalists' Journal*." The condor feeds on carrion, tearing carcasses of dead animals with its powerful beaks. It is very bold and sometimes attacks lambs and calves. It is very voracious. Tschudi mentions a condor, kept in captivity at Valparaiso, which consumed 18lbs of meat in a single day, and appeared the next morning to have as good an appetite as usual. The specimens in the Calcutta Gardens are in very fine plumage, but appears to be pining, as we found them sitting on the ground of their habitation silently, with no signs of activity in them.

Then, passing by the Ezra House, we cross the bridge and proceed to the Jheend House, which at present contains various species of birds.

The eastern compartment of the Jheend House contains, among other birds, a specimen of the Himalayan Whistling-Thrush (*Myiophonus temmincki*, Vig.), which is new to the collection. This bird is about 13½ inches in length and lives in the Himalayas, from the Hazara country and Gilgit to the Daphla Hills in Assam; the hills south of Assam, Cachar, Manipur, Arrakan, and probably the whole country west of the Irrawaddy river; Karennee and the Karen hills, and in Afghanistan and Turkestan also. It is a very handsomely-colored bird, the lores and base of its forehead being black, the forehead higher up bright cobalt-blue; the whole plumage-blue having each feather tipped with glistening-blue; wings and tail overlaid with cobalt-blue on the outer webs; lesser wing-coverts black, having broad margins of glistening cobalt-blue; and the median wing-coverts tipped with white. Its bill is yellow, the culmen and the base of the upper mandible being blackish. Its iris is brown, feet and claws black. The young ones of this species have the upper plumage and wings dull-blue without being tipped with glistening-blue, and the whole of the lower plumage dull-black, and the tail like that of the adult. This handsome bird haunts the neighbourhood of mountain rivulets and hill streams, where it delights in perching on rocks and snags and likes to feed on snails very much. So great is its avidity for the latter article of diet that oftentimes large numbers of the shells are found heaped together on the ground where it has been in the habit of breaking up and consuming them. During the summer months, it ascends to an altitude of 11,000 feet; but during the cold weather it leaves its haunts higher up in the mountains and comes down to lower heights and even to the plains. It is said that it has not its permanent habitat in Cachar, but visits that part of the country only during the

cold weather months. It whistles loudly, but, at the same time, very prettily. It breeds from April to June and constructs a massive, cup-shaped nest of roots and moss in the crevice of a rock, or in the root of some upturned tree in the river-bed, near or under a water fall. It lays from three to five eggs, measuring 1.42 by 1, which are of a pale-grey or green colour, speckled with pink and brown. This bird is known by the name of *Kastura* to the hill people inhabiting the North-Western Himalayas.

Then, leaving the Jheend House, we walk along the path that winds prettily over the undulating ground past the Duck-House and proceed towards the Rodents'-House, wherein the Committee's collection of Rodents, or gnawing animals, live. In the south-western cage of this house dwells at present a specimen of the Peguan Tree-shrew of Burma (*Tupaia peguana*, Lesson). This is one of the two specimens purchased by the Committee in 1895-96.

The Tree-shrews belong to the order of animals known as the Insectivora, or Insect-eaters, to which the hedge-hog, shrew, and mole also belong. All the members of this Order are dull and inconspicuously coloured animals of small size which feed mainly on worms and larvæ, often burrowing into the ground for them, and sometimes on beetles or other insects, hunting for them in the grass and underwood. Some species climb trees to seek after their prey. The majority of animals of this Order are purely animal-feeders. These insect-eating animals are so notorious for their voracity that cases are known of both moles and shrews in which two individuals kept in the same cage have attacked each other, the winner in the contest eating up the whole carcase of his opponent with the exception of its skin. They require constant feeding, and, if they do not get any food for three or four hours, they are said to succumb at once. These animals are found all over the world, with the exception of South America and Australia.

There are two varieties of Peguan Tree-shrew, the Northern, or Burmese race, which is a rather yellowish brown in colour, (but the coloration of the specimen at the Calcutta Zoo is iron-grey) being distinguished as the *Tupaia peguana* (Syn: *T. belangeri*); while the variety found in the Malayan Peninsula and Islands, which is said to be of a deep rusty brown, is designated as *T. ferruginea*. The former race is distributed throughout Burma, extending to Assam, and along the lower spurs of the Himalayas, as far west as Nepal. The latter variety is found in the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo.

The Peguan Tree-shrew resembles a squirrel in both appearance and habits, the only differentiating characteristic being

the former's somewhat elongated snout. It is said to feed on various insects and to a certain extent on fruit. Cantor, who kept several of these animals in captivity, says that, when feeding, they sit on their haunches, "holding their food between their fore-legs, and, after feeding, they smooth the head and face with both fore-paws, and lick the lips and palms." Recently Mr. Frank Finn, F. L. S., the accomplished Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, kept a specimen of the *Tupaia ferruginea* in confinement and made with it some experiments connected with the theory of warning colours and protective mimicry. He records that his specimen "was fed on boiled rice, fruit (plantain) and cooked meat, and that it used its fore-paws to hold the insects it ate, after the manner of a squirrel." As the result of his experiments, of which an account has been published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1897, Part II, No. 2, pp. 529-532, he found that the *Tupaia* has a very strong objection to the "protected" *Danainae* and *Papilio aristolochiae* as it so constantly refused them, and that in the case of the former absolutely, unlike the Babblers dealt with in his first paper (*J. A. S. B.* 1895, Part II, p. 344), which birds, caged under much the same conditions, generally showed their dislike of the *Danainae* merely by preferring other species." The call of the Tree-shrew is a "short, peculiar, tremulous whistling sound," and, when angry, it is said to utter "shrill protracted cries." The female is said to give birth to one young one at a time. It is easily tamed. Mr. Finn records that his specimen, "from its tameness and keenness after insects, was a very satisfactory subject to observe."

In the published Report of the Honorary Committee for the management of the Zoological Garden for 1895-96, the following animals, which are altogether new to the collection, are mentioned as having been acquired during that year, but could not be found by me, notwithstanding a careful search, in the houses in the gardens which are open to the public. Most probably they have died since their arrival in the gardens.

| Scientific name of Animal. | English name of Animal. | Habitat of the Animal. | How obtained. |
|--|--------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| MAMALS. | | | |
| 1. <i>Colobus urinus</i> (<i>Ogilby</i>) ... | Ursine Colobus ... | West Africa | By exchange. |
| 1. <i>Genetta tigrina</i> (<i>Schreb</i>) ... | Blotched Genet ... | Somali Coast | Obtained through the good offices of Captain Cox. |
| 2. <i>Otocyon megalotis</i> (<i>Darm</i>) ... | Long-eared Fox ... | Do. | Do. |
| 2. <i>Phacocheerus aethiopicus</i> (<i>Pall</i>) ... | Aethiopian Wart-Hog ... | Do. | Do. |
| BIRDS. | | | |
| 2. <i>Pomatorhinus schisticeps</i> (<i>Hodgs</i>) ... | Slaty-headed scimitar Babbler | Himalayas | Purchased. |
| 2. <i>Pomatorhinus ruficollis</i> (<i>Hodgs</i>) ... | Rufous-necked scimitar Babbler | Do. | Do. |
| 2. <i>Siva cyanuroptera</i> (<i>Hodgs</i>) ... | Blue-winged Siva | Do. | Presented by F. Finn, Esq. |
| 2. <i>Nescaanthus eminentissimus</i> (<i>Bp.</i>) ... | | Africa ... | Purchased. |
| 1. <i>Harpactes hodgsoni</i> (<i>Blyth</i>) ... | Red-headed Trogon | Himalayas | Do. |
| 1. <i>Botaurus stellaris</i> (<i>Linna</i>) ... | Bittern | India | Presented by F. Finn, Esq. |
| 2. <i>Rhyuchaea capensis</i> Reptiles (<i>Linna</i>) ... | Snipe | Do. | Do. |
| 4. <i>Mabuia carinata</i> (<i>Bouleng</i>) ... | | Do. | Purchased. |
| 1. <i>Simotes violaceus</i> (<i>Cantor</i>) ... | | Do. | Do. |
| 1. <i>Simotes arvensis</i> (<i>Shaw</i>) ... | | Do. | Do. |
| 2. <i>Helicops schistosus</i> (<i>Daud</i>) ... | | Do. | Do. |

Of the above-mentioned animals, the pair each of the Long-eared Fox and the Aethiopian Wart-hog were procured from

Somaliland through the good offices of Captain P. T. Cox, Assistant Resident, Berbera, but they unfortunately died within a few months after their arrival in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, as will appear from the following extract from the Committee's Report for 1895-96 :—

"The Committee are much beholden to Captain P. T. Cox, Assistant Resident, Berbera, for his commendable zeal and interest in procuring a variety of East African animals for the garden. In May 1895, he despatched a consignment consisting of one Cheeta, one Beisa Antelope, one Lesser Koodoo (*Strepsiceros imberbis*), two Sæmmerring's Gazelle (*Gazella sæmmerringi*, Cretzschm), two Wart-Hogs, two Long-eared Foxes, two Striped Mongooses, and two Giant Tortoises, in charge of a keeper, who was specially deputed to receive them. Of these, the Beisa Antelope, the Lesser Koodoo, and the Gazelles died on board the steamer; the rest, with the exception of the Tortoises, within a few months after their arrival. Captain Cox, in regretting his disappointment at his inability to send a larger consignment, complained that it was "heart-breaking work trying to collect the animals, owing to the great mortality among those captured." From January to May, 1895, he had managed to secure not less than fifty antelopes, large and small, of various kinds; but they all died. He could never discover what killed the young animals, as they were always "easy to manage, and had everything in their favour—lots of milk, grass, and roomy garden to run about." It was probably the "muggy coast climate," he thought, that caused their death. "Full-grown animals," he wrote, "snared by the native hunters I employed, invariably pined and died at once, and in many cases I found, on making a *post-mortem*, that they had broken a rib or injured themselves internally when struggling in the noose." The Committee have thought it desirable to enter upon these details to show how their best endeavours to enrich the collection are often frustrated by causes over which they and other friends of the institution have no control."

As regards the Red-headed Trogon, the Committee write : "However common the bird may be in the forest-clad hills of Sikkim, Assam, and the Malabar Coast, a Red-headed Trogon (*Harpactes hodgsoni*) rarely thrives in captivity, owing chiefly to the difficulty of feeding it. The Committee, therefore, congratulated themselves upon securing a specimen of this beautiful bird, which, for some time at least, gave promise of bearing captivity well. But, accustomed to feed upon various kinds of coleopterous insects in its wild state, the sameness of its food necessarily confined to grasshoppers and cockroaches, evidently disagreed with it, and it died from the effects of gastric irritation."

The following is a synoptical list of the mammals, birds, and reptiles described above, arranged according to their orders, families, genera and species :—

CLASS MAMMALIA.

ORDER QUADRUMANA.

FAMILY CERCOPITHECIDÆ.

GENUS COLOBUS.

1. *Colobus Ursinus*, (*Ogilby*). Ursine Colobus.
Hab. West Africa.

FAMILY CEBIDÆ.

GENUS CEBUS.

2. *Cebus hypoleucus*, (*Humb.*). White throated Capuchin.
Hab. Central America.

ORDER LEMURES.

FAMILY LEMURIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY LEMURINÆ.

GENUS LEMUR.

3. *Lemur albifrons*, (*Geoffr.*). White-fronted Lemur.
Hab. Madagascar.

ORDER CARNIVORA.

FAMILY VIVERRIDÆ.

GENUS GENETTA.

4. *Genetta tigrina*, (*Schreb.*). Blotched Genet
Hab. Somali Coast.

FAMILY CANIDÆ.

GENUS OTOCYON.

5. *Otocyon megalotis* (*Desm.*). Long-eared Fox.
Hab. Somali Coast.

ORDER INSECTIVORA.

FAMILY TUPAIIDÆ.

GENUS TUPAIA.

6. *Tupaia peguana* (*Lesson*). Peguan Tree-Shrew.
Hab. Burmah.

ORDER UNGULATA.

SUB-ORDER PERISSODACTYLA.

FAMILY TAPIRIDÆ.

GENUS TAPIRUS.

7. *Tapirus americanus* (*Gmel.*). Brazilian Tapir.
Hab. South America.

8. *Tapirus roulini* (*Fischer*). Hairy Tapir.
Hab. Columbia.

SUB-ORDER ARTIODACTYLA.

FAMILY CERVIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY CERVINÆ.

GENUS CERVUS.

9. *Cervus Elaphus* (*Linn.*). Red Deer.
Hab. Europe.

GENUS CARIACUS.

10. *Cariacus punctulatus* (*Gray*). Guatemalan Deer.
Hab. Guatemala.

FAMILY PHACOCHÆRIDÆ.

GENUS PHACOCHÆRUS.

11. *Phacochærus æthiopicus* (*Pall.*). Aethiopian-Wart Hog.
Hab. Somali Coast.

CLASS AVES.

ORDER PASSERES.

FAMILY CRATEROPODIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY CRATEROPODINÆ.

GENUS POMATORHINUS.

1. *Pomatorhinus schisticeps* (*Hodgs.*). Slaty-headed Scimitar Babbler.
Hab. Himalayas.
2. *Pomatorhinus ruficollis* (*Hodgs.*). Rufous-necked Scimitar Babbler.
Hab. Himalayas.

SUB-FAMILY BRACHYPTERYGINÆ.

GENUS MYIOPHONEUS.

3. *Myiophoneus temmincki* (*Vig.*). Himalayan Whistling-Thrush.
Hab. Himalayas.

GENUS SIVA.

4. *Siva cyanuroptera* (*Hodgs.*). Blue-winged Siva.
Hab. Himalayas.

FAMILY PARADISEIDÆ.

GENUS PARADISEA.

5. *Paradisea minor* (*Shaw*). Lesser Bird of Paradise.
Hab. New Guinea.

ORDER TROGONES.

FAMILY TROGONIDÆ.

GENUS HARPACTES.

6. *Harpactes hodgsoni* (*Blyth*). Red-headed Trogon.
Hab. Himalayas.

ORDER ACCIPITRES.

FAMILY CATHARTIDÆ.

GENUS SARCORHAMPHUS.

7. *Sarcorhamphus gryphus* (*Linn.*). Condor.
Hab. South America.

ORDER HERODIONES.

FAMILY ARDEIDÆ.

GENUS BOTHAURUS.

8. *Bothaurus stellaris* (*Linn.*). Bittern.
Hab. India.

ORDER GALLINÆ.

FAMILY PHASIANIDÆ.

GENUS RHIZOTHERA.

9. *Rhizothera longirostris* (*Temm.*). Long-billed Francolin.
Hab. Malayan Peninsula.

ORDER LIMICOLÆ.

FAMILY CHARADRIIDÆ.

GENUS ESACUS.

10. *Esacus recurvirostris* (*Cuv.*). Large Stone Plover.
Hab. India.

FAMILY SCOLOPACIDÆ.

GENUS RHYNCHAEA.

11. *Rhynchaea Capensis* (*Linn*). Painted Snipe.
Hab. India.

CLASS REPTILIA.

ORDER SQUAMATA.

SUB-ORDER LACERTILIA.

FAMILY SCIUCIDÆ.

GENUS MABUIA.

1. *Mabuia carinata* (*Bouleng*).
Hab. India.

SUB-ORDER OPHIDIA.

FAMILY COLUBRIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY COLUBRINÆ.

GENUS SIMOTES.

2. *Simotes violaceus* (*Cantor*).
Hab. India.
3. *Simotes aivensis* (*Shaw*).
Hab. India.

GENUS HELICOPS.

4. *Helicops schistosus* (*Daua*).
Hab. India.

FAMILY CROTALIDÆ.

GENUS CROTALUS.

5. *Crotalus horridus* (*Linn*). Horrid Rattlesnake.
Hab. Nicaragua.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

26th October, 1897.

ART. XIV.—HUMAYUN IN PERSIA.

HUMAYUN'S adventures in Persia form an interesting chapter in the history of the Moghul dynasty. When he had been twice defeated by Sher Khan, and so had come to perceive that the Afghan was a swordsman altogether too strong for him, he took refuge in Scinde and wandered about there for over two years. The only good thing that this sojourn brought him was his marriage with Hamida Banu, a lady sprung from a saintly Persian family, and who, perhaps in tribute to her gentleness and placidity, received the title of the "Dweller with Mary." It was she who, in the midst of distress and poverty, and when her husband was away on one of his futile expeditions, gave birth, at Amarkot, to the Emperor Akbar.* But even this event did not wholly rouse Humayun out of his despondency, and we find him afterwards seriously thinking of giving up the struggle and retiring to Mecca to live there as a dervish. According to the historian he relinquished this idea out of consideration for his followers, but probably the consciousness of his own instability of character had something to do with it. Humayun was not a man who ever followed a decided course, and he was all his life the sport of circumstances. His return to India, which was the most striking thing he ever did, was probably more due to Bairam Khan than to his own energy.

* Abul Fazl tells a pretty story about this event. It seems that Humayun, a great believer in astrology and an adept in the use of the astrolabe, had left his astrologer in attendance on Hamida in order that he might catch the exact moment of birth and calculate the horoscope accordingly. Hamida was taken ill in the middle of the night, and it was announced to the astrologer, who, perhaps, was watching the heavens, or possibly was asleep, that the labour pains had begun and that the birth was momentarily expected. He came in great trepidation, for the hour was inauspicious, and asked if the birth could not by any possibility be postponed, especially as there was, a little ahead, a propitious hour such as might not happen again in a thousand years. But the women were not willing that their mistress should be tortured in the way that the Bengali Queen, the widow of Lachman Sein, was treated who, under similar circumstances, was put up by the heels for two hours, with the result that she herself died and her son ruined his dynasty. They therefore scoffed at the astrologer and said that such things were beyond control. Just then the village-midwife entered the room, and she, poor soul, was so hideously ugly that the girl Queen got a "scunner", as the Scotch would say, at the sight of her and fell, exhausted by her sufferings, into a deep slumber. And now a fresh trouble arose to perplex the astrologer. What if she remained in this sleep till the fortunate moment passed away? Could they not rouse her, he asked. Her maidens declined to do so, she had already suffered so much; but just at that moment the pains revived, Hamida awoke, and Akbar came into the world.

Those who may be inclined to marvel at Humayun's and Abul Fazl's credulity should remember that, according to Voltaire, an astrologer was concealed, about a century afterwards, for a similar purpose, near the bedchamber of Anne of Austria, when she was about to give birth to Lewis 14th.

When Humayun could find no rest for the sole of his foot either in Scinde or in Rajputana, he proceeded to Afghanistan, in the hope of rejoining his brothers. But they had no wish for his presence and did not hold out any helping hand to him. On the contrary, they laid a plot to seize him and put him under restraint. He only just escaped by making a hurried flight from the neighbourhood of Quettah; and had to leave his infant son behind him. His wife and he, attended by about twenty followers, had a perilous journey across Baluchistan, but eventually arrived at Sijistan where they were hospitably received by the Persian officers. He now resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the King of Persia and had addressed him a letter in which there was a couplet referring to his sufferings by hill and stream and desert, and intimating that these had now passed away. Not that his mind could really have been at rest. He had escaped from the desert and from his brothers; but the descendant of Timur and of a line of kings must have felt humiliated by having to implore the aid of Tahmāsp who was a younger man than himself, and whose dynasty was but of yesterday. He must have felt, too, that it was very doubtful how an ardent Shia, such as Tahmāsp was, would receive one who prided himself on being a Sunni. He probably knew also that his father, Babar, bore no good name among the Persians, who considered that he had deserted them at Ghajdiwan and had left thousands of their countrymen to be butchered by the Uzbeks. Altogether, Humayun's feelings must have been somewhat like those of Mary Queen of Scots when she passed over into England. Still his nature was such that he could not help trying to enjoy himself; and so, while waiting in Sijistan, which is the classic land of Rustum, he amused himself hawking water-fowl (*qashqaldāgh*, *i. e.*, coots). At length a gracious reply seems to have arrived from Tahmāsp, and Humayun proceeded towards his court, though by the roundabout route of Herat and Mashhad. It was to the Governor of Herat, and the tutor of his young son, that Tahmāsp addressed the following letter, in which he conveys the most elaborate orders for Humayun's reception. The letter is very long, and in parts not easy of interpretation, but it is such a curious mixture of "picknikitiness" and genuine good feeling, and it throws so much light on eastern manners, that I think it deserves publication. It is pleasant to see that Tahmāsp did not confine his injunctions to the making his fellow sovereign Humayun comfortable, but was equally solicitous for the well-being of the unfortunate servants.

The letter occurs in the first volume of the *Akbarnāma*.

ORDER (FARMAN) OF SHAH TAHMASP TO THE
GOVERNOR OF KHURASAN.

The august order was promulgated, that the asylum of dominion and workshop of Majesty, son of power and prestige, Muhammad Khan¹ Sharafaddīn Ughli Taklū, tutor² of our precious and upright son,³ Governor of Herat, the seat of sovereignty, and Mīr Diwān,⁴ who hath been exalted by divers royal bounties and benefits, might know that the contents of his report, lately despatched to the court, the asylum of glory, through Kamāladdīn Shāh Qulī Beg, the asylum of nobility and brother of Qara Sultan Shamlū,^{4a} arrived on 12th Zihajja⁵ (8th March 1544), and that its distinguished purport has become known and understood from beginning to end.

As to what has been written concerning the approach of the fortunate Vicegerent (Nawwāb-i-Kāmzāl), sphere-rider sun-cupola, pearl of success and sovereignty's ocean, goodly tree ornamenting the garden of government and world-sway, world-illuminating light of the portico of sovereignty and glory, soaring cypress of the stream of auspiciousness and fortune, aromatic tree of glory and Majesty's rose-garden, fruit of the tree of the Caliphate and of justice, king of the two seas (Barīn-ū-Behrīn), world-warming sun of felicity's heaven, exalted full-moon of the zenith of the Caliphate and world-rule, altar and exemplar of just princes, greatest and best of

¹ Blochmann, 426, and Maasir-ul-Umara I. 507, under title of Jāfar Khan

² Lala. Blochmann, 426, remarks that the word does not occur in our dictionaries. Apparently it is a form of lāla, meaning a major domo, tutor, &c. Wollaston gives both lāla and lallah, *s. v.* tutor, but marks the last as vulgar.

³ Sultan Muhammad Mīrzā, eldest son of Ṭahmāsp, and often called Muhammad Knudabanda. He became king in 1578, but was a weak and unworthy ruler and soon disappeared. See Oliver, I. A. S. B., Vol. 56, for 1887, p. 43.

⁴ Apparently a translation of the Turkish title Beglerbegi which occurs in the letter as given in B. M. M. S., Or. 4678.

^{4a} According to Malcolm, Shāmlū means a son of Syria and refers to the fact that the tribe was brought from Syria by Timur.

⁵ Price points out that there is a difficulty about this date for A. F. describes Humayun as reaching Herat on 1 Zilqadda, or about 1½ months before. Muhammad Khan's letter was received by Ṭahmāsp. He suggests that the names of the months should be transposed. Probably the date in A. F.'s copy of the letter is altogether wrong, and the true date is that given in B. M. M. S. Or. 4678, *viz.*, Tuesday, 5th Shawwāl 950, 1st January, 1544. In the copy there given Ṭahmāsp describes himself as answering the letter on the same day. It was brought to Ṭahmāsp by Hasan Beg Taklū. Humayun wrote to Ṭahmāsp, according to A. F., on Thursday 1st Shawwāl, 950, and probably Muhammad Khan, the governor of Herat, would write about the same time to his master. If Thursday was 1st Shawwāl, however, the following Sunday would be the 6th, not the 5th, unless we count, as the Mahomedans do, from sunset to sunset.

the Khāqāns, the lords of Majesty, high-born sovereign of supremacy's throne, exalted king of the kingdom of the dispensation of justice, Khāqān of Alexander type, glorious potentate, an enthroned Sultan, lord of guidance and conviction, world-guardian, lord of diadem and divan (*taj-u-takht*), Saheb Qirān (lord of conjunction) of the world of fortune and prestige, crowning diadem of famous Khāqāns, the Aided by God, Defender of the Faith (*Nasrūddīn*) Muhammad Humayun Pādshāh. May the Almighty grant him greatness in accordance with desire until the last day!

How may it be told what joy and delight have been caused by this

VERSE.

Good is the news, O cousin of the morn,⁶ that thou bringest of the friend's advent.

May thy news be true, O thou in all places the friend's intimate,

May that day come when, in the feast of meeting,

I may sit, having my heart's desire, breathing in unison with the friend!

Recognising that the untroubled progress and approach of this king, the messenger of honour, are a great boon, be it known that, in guerdon of the glad tidings, we have bestowed the territory of Sabzwār⁷ on that asylum of dominion (*i.e.*, Humayun) from the beginning of Aries⁸ of the year of the Hare. Let him send his *dārōgha* and vizier there, that the regular revenue and the extraordinary civil receipts thereof may be perceived from the beginning of the current year, and be expended for the requirements of the victorious troops and his own necessities. Having acted, paragraph by paragraph, and day by day, in accordance with the procedure set forth in this edict (*Nishān*), let there be no remissness concerning the paramount instructions.

Let him appoint five hundred prudent and experienced men, each of whom shall have a led⁹ horse, a riding mule, and the

⁶ Saba, rising, also east wind, perhaps used here because Humayun was then in eastern Persia, and Tahmāsp was in the west, in Qazwīn.

⁷ A town in Khurāsān, West of Nishāpūr and between Mashhad and the Caspian. Blochmann, 552, and Jarrett III, 85. But there is also a Sabzwār, S. of Herat, and perhaps this is the place meant, especially as Humayun would pass through it on his way to Herat.

⁸ The text has, *amal*, but the Lucknow edition and three MSS. B. M. have *hamal*, and this seems correct. The Turkish, or Aighurian, cycle seems to have been used in official documents, &c., and began in Aries, as also did the Persian year. Taweshqān, or the year of the Hare, was the fourth of the cycle. Jarret II, 21.

⁹ *Asp i-Kutāl*. Kutāl, or Kūtal, is used to mean a second or substituted article, *vide*, Blochmann 109, 115. The Bahār-i-'Ajam explains it, when applied to horses, as meaning an animal strong enough to form part of the procession before a king's carriage, a processional horse in short. Such horses formed part of the *istiqbāl* which met the Persian-Afghan Mission on its approach to Mashhad. Eastern Persia: by Goldsmid and others. Macmillan: 1876 p. 357.

necessary accoutrements, that they may go forth to meet the king, the lord of fortune, with one hundred swift horses which have been sent from the sublime court for the use of His Majesty, together with golden saddles, and let the asylum of dominion select from his own stables six swift horses, quiet, of good colour, and strong, and such as may be fit for the riding of that royal cavalier of the field of glory and success, and let him place on them azure and embroidered saddles, with housings of gold brocade and gold thread, such as may befit the riding-horses of that majestic king, and let him make over each horse to two of his own servants, and despatch them. A splendid, special side-dagger ornamented with exquisite jewels which came to us from the fortunate vicegerent, the pardoned prince of sublime seat, the king our father—May God make his proof clear!—together with a goldenscimitar (*shamshār*) and a jewelled girdle, have been sent to the Alexander-principled king, for victory and conquest, and good augury. Four hundred pieces of velvet and satin from Europe and Yezd have been sent, so that one hundred¹⁰ and twenty coats may be made for the king's special use, and that the remainder may be for the servants attached to the victorious stirrup of that fortunate prince; also two-pile gold-brocaded velvet carpets and coverlets (*namad*¹¹ *takiya*) of goats hair with satin lining, and three pairs of large carpets twelve cubits (square?), four *Gōshkānī*¹² of fine silk, and twelve sheets, scarlet, green and white, have been sent. May they arrive safely!

Let arrangements be made day by day for sweet and pleasant drinks, with white loaves kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel seeds and poppy seeds. Let them be well made and be sent to His Majesty. Let them also be sent for each member of his staff and for his other servants. Be it also arranged that at the places where His Majesty will halt, there be arranged and pitched, the day previous, cleansed, pleasant, white, embroidered tents and awnings of silk and velvet, and also pantries and kitchens and all their necessary out-offices, so that every requisite apparatus be in readiness. When he, in his glory and fortune, shall direct a

¹⁰ 120 were perhaps intended as a supply for a twelve month, cf., Blochmann, 90, where it is stated that Akbar had 120 suits in his wardrobe, made up into twelve bundles.

¹¹ Blochmann, 55 and 96, where it is written *takiya namad*.

¹² *Gōshkān*, or *Joshaqan*, a town half-way between Kāshān and Ispahan, famous for carpets, Blochmann, 552.

¹³ *Kurgī*, *kurk*, or *kurg*, is the fine short wool of the goat, nearest the skin. It also means fur, Blochmann, 616.

halt, let rose-water, sherbet and wholesome lemon-juice be made and poured out, after having been cooled with snow and ice. After the sherbet let conserves of Maskān¹⁴ apples of Mashhad, water-melons, grapes, &c., with white loaves made as already directed, be tendered, and let care be taken that all the beverages be brought to the notice of His Majesty, and that rose-water and grey ambergris be added to them. Each day let five hundred dishes of varied food be presented, together with the beverages. Let the asylum of dominion, Qazzāq¹⁵ Sultan, and the acme of nobility, Jāfar Sultan, together with your (other?) descendants and your clan to the number of one thousand persons, go forth to offer welcome three days after the five hundred shall have set out. And during those three days let the said officers and the various troops be inspected. Be careful to give your servants Tipūcah and Arab horses, for there is no finer decoration for a soldier than a good horse, and let the uniforms of the one thousand be coloured and smart. And be it arranged that, when the officers come to wait upon His Majesty, they kiss the ground of service and honour with the lip of respect and render their service one by one. Be it seen to that, on the occasion of riding, &c., there be no altercation between the officer's servants and His Majesty's, and that no annoyance of any kind happen to the king's servants. During the time of riding and of marching let the officers remain with the troops and serve the king from a distance, but at the time of being on guard¹⁶, let each officer display his alacrity in the vicinity of the (king's) quarters which shall have been fixed, and let them, having taken in their hands the staffs of service, serve in the manner that one would serve his own king, and let them adopt and bring into practice the utmost attentiveness. Let this mandate be shown to the governor of every territory to which he may come, and care be taken that that officer render his service. Let entertainments be so conducted that the total of the food, sweetmeats and liquids be not less than 1,500 dishes. The service of, and attendance in the asylum of sovereignty, will be in charge of the asylum of dominion up to Mashhad, the pure and holy. And when the officers aforesaid come to serve, every day there will be produced in the sublime banquet of that king 1,200 dishes of varied food, such as may be fit for a royal table. And

¹⁴ Maskān in text, the editors suggest mashkīn, but according to Bihār. Ajām, mashkān is the name of a kind of apple grown in Tūs, *i. e.* Mashhad.

¹⁵ Qazzāq Sultan was Muhammad Khan's son, and Jāfar was his grandson. Qazzāq, called in the Maaṣir Qazzāq Khan, rebelled against Tahmāsp in 972, and his son Jāfar emigrated to India, Blochmann, 426.

¹⁶ Kashak or Kashik.

let each of the aforesaid officers, on the day when he is host, tender a present of nine horses, of which three will be for the king's special use, one for the Chief Amir Muhammed Bairān Khan Bahadur, and the five others for such of the select officers as may be fitting. Let all nine horses be produced for his auspicious inspection,¹⁷ and mention which of them are for the fortunate Nawwāb, and also mention which is for such and such an officer, that having been previously arranged by you, for such statement, though it may appear improper, is right and will not seem wrong; but by every possible means keep the servants in attendance pleased, and show the utmost sympathy and assiduity. Soothe the hearts of this body of men, which have been clouded somewhat by the revolutions of unequal fate, by affection and sympathy, as is proper and pleasing at such seasons. Continue this practice throughout till they come to our presence. Thereafter, what is proper will be executed by ourselves. After food has been partaken of, let sweetmeats and comfits¹⁸ prepared from candy (qand) and refined sugar (nabāt), and various conserves, and rishta-i-khaṭāi,¹⁹ Chinese threads), which shall have been perfumed with rose-water, musk²⁰ and grey²¹ ambergris, be brought in. The governor of the province²² (wilāyet) after performing the duties of service and hospitality, shall put his mind at ease about his province, and escort (His Majesty) up to Herat, the capital, not omitting the most minute points of service and attendance. When he shall arrive at twelve farsakhs from the said province,²³ the asylum of dominion will have one of his experienced officers²⁴

¹⁷ Possibly the meaning is that Muhammad Khan should inspect them, and not that they should be shown to Humayun.

¹⁸ Pālūda or fālūda, the same as halwā, except that the sūjī is boiled in milk. Herklots. App.

¹⁹ China or Cathay threads, apparently resembling vermicelli. See Vullers II, 39, and Behār i-'Ajem Steingass says they are a kind of paste lozenges eaten in soup, but this hardly agrees with the long description, quoted by Vullers. They were made of rice flour, were very thin, like silk threads and were flavoured with almonds, pistachios, rose water, &c. In the B. M. Sloane, 4093, Rein. I, 3917, which is a similar letter of Ṭahmāsp, but addressed to Alī Qulī Khan Shāmla, the governor of Ḥisān, the expression rishta-khaṭāi is not used, but we have the apparently nearly synonymous phrase āsh māhicha, *vide* Vullers II 32a.

²⁰ The musk here referred to seems to be a vegetable product.

²¹ 'Ambar ashhal. This was the best kind, Blochmann 78.

²² Probably a general order for the governors of all the provinces passed through.

²³ Apparently the meaning is when Humayun arrives within 12 leagues, or about 50 miles, of the city of Herat.

²⁴ Uimāq. Blochmann 3712, where it is stated that the word was originally the name of a Turkish tribe. See also Jarrett, II, 4012 4 and III, 1172, the meaning here seems to be a confidential subordinate. Is Imāq the right reading? Shaw gives this as meaning a confidential servant.

In charge of our dear and excellent son, that he may take care of the city and wait on the son. The remainder of the victorious army from the city and province, and its boundaries, consisting of the Hazāras,²⁵ Nihodāris and others, to the number of thirty thousand, which number must be exact, shall go forth with the asylum of dominion to offer welcome. Tents, awnings and necessary furnitures will be conveyed by strings of camels and mules, so that a well-ordered camp may come under the king's auspicious glance. When he is honoured by attendance on His Majesty he will, before making any other remarks, convey to him many prayers for his welfare on behalf of ourselves. And on the same day that he be distinguished by service he will halt in accordance with the rules (tuzuk) and regulations of an army in camp. The asylum of dominion, when he has come on duty, will request leave, in order that he may entertain His Majesty, and will establish himself for three days in those quarters. On the first day he will invest all his (Humayun's) troops with handsome khilāts of satin and brocade (kamkhāb) from Yezd, and of silk (Dārāihā) of Mashhad and Khāf, and let them all have velvet cloaks (bālapōsh),²⁶ and let there be given to every soldier and servant two Tabrizī tūmāns²⁷ for his daily expenses; and provide varied food in accordance with the rules already prescribed. And let there be a royal assemblage, so that tongues may speak in praise of it, and shouts of approbation reach the ears of mankind. Let there be made a list of his troops, and let it be sent to the sublime court. Let 2,500²⁸ Tabrizī tūmāns be taken from the funds of the Privy Purse which come to the said capital, and let them be spent for necessary purposes. Let the utmost zeal be displayed in service, and let the march from the said quarters to the city occupy four days, and let the entertainment of each day be the same as on the first. And it is proper that at every entertainment the honoured sons of the asylum of dominion bind, like servants and waiters, girdles of service on their loins and perform worshipful ministration, and that, in thanksgiving for such a king, who is a gift from the gifts of God, having become our guest, let them display the utmost alacrity in service, and do not let there be

²⁵ Jarrett II, 4012 4.

²⁶ The word also means a quilt, but here it probably means a cloak or upper garment.

²⁷ Wollaston, in App., says the tūmān is a gold coin worth about eight shillings, but that it used to be worth much more, and that in the time of Shah Abbas 1st it was worth £3. Jehāngīr, quoted by Blochmann, 486, makes the Persian tūmān about equal to Rs. 33. If so, it might be compared with a gold mohur.

²⁸ The M.S. has 10,500. The letter in Or. 4678 says that from first to last 10,000 tūmāns are to be expended.

any failure, for the more zeal and devotion that are displayed in respect of His Majesty, the more will be the approval by us. And on the day before he will reach the city let there be erected at the head of the avenue (khiyābār) of the Bāgh Idgāh tents with crimson satin on the inside, fine²⁰ linen between, and Ispahan muslin (Mişqālī) on the top, which, during these days, was reported as being prepared. And let care be taken that at every place where His Majesty's gracious heart may take pleasure, and in every flower-garden that may be remarkable for its air, its streams, its amenities and delights, His Majesty be approached by you in an agreeable way, and with the hand of respect placed servantwise on the bosom, and that it be represented to him that that camp, and army and all its paraphernalia are a present (peshkash) to the fortunate Nawwāb. Also, while on the march, do you continually keep him pleased by conversation of a reassuring character. And do you yourself on the day before he will arrive at the city, leave that station after obtaining your dismissal, and proceed to serve our son. In the morning bring out the dear son from his residence for the purpose of giving a welcome. Put on him the suit which we sent him last year, or New Year's day, and having one of the grey-bearded confidential officers of the Taklū family (Uymāq-i-Taklū) who may be approved of and trusted to by the asylum of dominion, in the capital, mount the son on horseback. And, for the time that he is proceeding to the city, let the asylum of dominion place Qazzāq Sultan on duty (with Humayun), and let tents and camels and horses be left, so that, when the fortunate Nawwāb mounts his horse next day, the camp may also march, and let the aforesaid asylum of dominion (Kuzzāq Sultan) be the guide. When the son shall come out of the city strive that all the troops be mounted with the prescribed splendour, and that they proceed towards the welcoming. When near that king, the Court of Majesty, *viz.*, when the space intervening be an arrow's flight, let the asylum of dominion advance and beg the king not to dismount. If they agree, let him return immediately and dismount the happy son, and let him go quickly and kiss the thigh and stirrup of that King of Solomon's Court and show all the points of service and respect and honour which are possible. Should the fortunate Nawwāb not agree, and should he dismount, let the son dismount before him and do homage, and His Majesty having first mounted let him kiss the king's hand and proceed to mount our son, and proceeding on thus ride according to etiquette to the camp and the fixed quarters. And let the

²⁰ Taiyābl. One MS. has Tabasī, *i. e.*, of the town of Tabas, and perhaps this is correct.

asylum of dominion be in attendance on the king, and close to the son, so that, if the king should put any questions to the son, and the son, out of bashfulness, be unable to reply, the asylum of dominion may make a proper reply. And in the questions aforesaid let that son show hospitality to the king according to this routine, *viz.*, at about 9 A. M. let 300 dishes of varied foods be at once presented by way of breakfast. Between the two prayers (at midday) let 1,200 courses of varied foods be presented on dishes generally known as Muhammad Khání, and also on other plates of porcelain, gold and silver, placing covers of gold and silver over the trays. After that, let sweet preserves, such as may be available, and sweetmeats and comfits—be presented. After that let seven handsome and good horses be taken from the son's stables, and velvet and satin trimmings be placed on them, with girths of fine linen woven with silk, and let white girths be placed on red and black girths on green velvet housings. It is proper that Hafiz Sabir Qáq, Mauláná Qásim Qánúní (harpist) Ustad Sháh Muhammad³⁰, the hautbois player, Hafiz Dost Muhammad Kháfí, Ustad Yusuf Maudúd,^{30a} and other famous singers and musicians who may be in the city, be always present, and whenever His Majesty desires it, may please him by singing and playing. And let every one from far and near who may be worthy of that assemblage be in attendance so that he may be present when called upon, and that they may by every possible means make his hours pleasant to him. Further let gerfalcons³¹ (shanqár), saker³² (caragh), sparrow hawks³³ (básha), royal³⁴ falcons (sháhin), peregrine³⁵ falcons (bahí) and the like which may be in the son's establishment, or that of the asylum of dominion, or with his sons, be presented, and let all his servants have silk khiláts of every kind and colour suitable to each—coloured velvets, waved silks (khárá³⁶) *takma*, *kalábatun*,³⁷ gold brocade. And on arrival at the quarters let his servants be brought before our son, and let him, with the munificent³⁸ ways which are hereditary with him from his ancestors, give each of them food, a suit of clothes and a horse befitting his

³⁰ Blochmann, 613.

^{30a} Maudúd. Apparently a *nom de plume* and meaning the beloved or the ecstatic from Wad.

³¹ Also spelt shūnqān, the falco Hendersoni, Scully, App. 2, Shaw's vocabulary.

³² The Saker, or Cherugh of Jerdon.

³³ Accipeter Nisus, it is the female.

³⁴ Falco peregrinator of Jerdon I, 25 ; it is the female.

³⁵ Scully l. c. See also list of hawks in Burnes' Travels, and the account of Hawking in the Ain, Blochmann, 293, *et seq.*

³⁶ Moirée antique, Blochmann, 924.

³⁷ Kálábatun of Blochmann, 914, who says it is a stuff with gold and silk threads.

condition, and let not the largesse (to each) exceed three tumāns. Also let twelve times nine pieces of silk, including velvet, satin, European and Yezdī kamkhāb, and bāfta shāmī (Syrian cloth) and other choice materials (be taken), and let thirty hundred gold tumāns be taken out in thirty purses, together with the silk aforesaid, and let there be given to every soldier three Tabīzī tumāns, which are equal to 600 shāhī.³⁸ Let him spend three days in the Avenue and among the underground channels (kārīzgāh). And order that, during these three days, various artificers make a chahar-tāq-bāulī³⁹ from the gate of the Chahār Bāgh which is a royal palace, to the Avenue which is in the Bāgh Idgāh. And let one of the officers aforesaid be a coadjutor with each artificer, so that by their mutual interest every craft and excellent device may be executed. This is excellent that, as the king hath exalted this country by his distinguished advent, he should have first come to a city which is the light of the eyes of mankind. Let there then be brought before his alchemic eye genial and sweet-spoken persons, such as are in this city, so that he may have cause for cheerfulness. On the third day when your mind shall be at rest with regard to the Chahar-tāq, the City-Avenue, and the brightening up of the Chahār Bāgh let heralds be appointed in the city, its wards, and the environs, and the neighbouring villages to proclaim that all the men and women of the city shall assemble on the morning of the fourth day in the Avenue (khīyābār), and in every shop and bazaar where carpets and cloths shall be spread in order, the women and maidens⁴⁰ will be seated, and, as is the rule in that city, the women will engage in pleasant^{40a} sayings and doings with the comers and goers. And from every ward and lane let the masters of melody come forth, so that the like of it will not be seen in any other city of the world. And bid all their people come forth to offer welcome. After all this has been arranged, let the king be respectfully asked to put the foot of dominion in the stirrup of auspiciousness and to mount on horse back. Our son will proceed alongside of His Majesty, but so that the

³⁸ The shāhī is worth about a half penny, so that if the tumān be reckoned at 8/ three would be about equal to 600 shāhī. The figures in the text are, however, doubtful.

³⁹ An erection with four domes; a quadrangular tent, or canopy, apparently.

⁴⁰ Bāgha, *i. e.*, chiefs in text, but I take the word to be baikhā, *i. e.*, maidens from بیکھا bikhā which P. de Courteille renders femme non mariée.

^{40a} Dar maqām shīn kārī u shīn gūī darāind. One of the meanings of maqām is a musical tone, and kār and kārīhā are used by Babar to mean airs or melodies. See his Memoirs, Erskine 197 and 198, and notes. So possibly all that is meant here is that the women were to recite and sing to the passers by. Most likely, however, the word kārī refers to dancing. See Vambery's History of Bokhara, p. 242, note, where he describes a dance known as the Heratī.

head and neck of the latter's horse be in front^{40b}. You, the asylum of dominion, will follow close behind, so that, if he should put any questions about the buildings, the palaces, and gardens, you may make suitable reply. And when he shall come with auspiciousness to the city, he will visit the Chahār Bāgh. And let him alight in the small garden which was made at the time of our residence in that delicious city for the purpose of our living there and of reading and writing, and which is at present known by the name of Bāgh Shāhī. And make the baths in the Chahār Bāgh white and clean, and also the other baths, and make them fragrant with rose water and musk, so that, whenever he is inclined, he may have a place for bodily repose.

On the first day our son will show hospitality with abundance of provisions, and when he shall have gone to his repose, you, the asylum of dominion, will display hospitality in the manner that will be described below. When he (Humayun) will come to the city, you will make a report on the same day and despatch it to the sublime court. And let it be arranged that Māzzādīn Husain Kalāntar (Magistrate), of Herat, appoint a good writer who is a man of experience, to write a full diary from the day that the 500 make the reception (istiqbāl) to the day that he comes to the city, and let it be sealed and despatched by the asylum of dominion, and let all the stories and remarks, good or bad, which pass in the assemblage, be reduced to writing and be sent by the hands of trusty persons, so that we⁴¹ be fully informed of all that occurs.

The entertaining by the asylum of dominion will be as follows :—Three thousand dishes of food, sweetmeats, syrups (shīra) and fruits will be prepared, and the necessary furniture will be arranged as follows :—*First*, fifty tents and twenty awnings, and the large store-tent⁴² which was reported to have been prepared for His Majesty's special use with twelve pairs of carpets of twelve cubits and ten cubits, and seven pairs of carpets of five cubits, nine strings of female camels, 250 porcelain plates, large and small, and other plates and pots all with bright covers, and also tinned (qalāi karde), and two strings of mules at the asylum of dominion present on the occasion of his entertainment ; and let the officers conduct their entertainments as follows :—Let them present food, sweet-

^{40b} The letter in B. M. M. S. Or. 467 is still more explicit. The head of the Prince's horse is to be on a line with Humayun's stirrup, and the head of the Tutor's horse on a line with the Prince's stirrup.

⁴¹ The izāfat after ūza' in text seems wrong. By the phrase Nawwab Humayun-i-me Ṭahmāsp means himself. See text 207, l. 10.

⁴² Chādar buzurg alābata. Qu. abtat or abtāt, Persian batāt, provisions. See Lane 148c. Perhaps it is what Abul Fazl calls in the Ain, Blochmann, 48, offices and workshops (būyūtāt).

meats and comfits to the extent of 1,500 plates, and also three horses, a string of camels and a string of mules, which shall have first been seen and approved by the asylum of dominion.

* * * * *

FINIS.

Humayun's reception in Herat was worthy of the city, and such as might be expected after the above letter. Humayun was delighted with the place and spent many days in it. He had read his father's glowing account of the city, and, like him, he visited the public buildings and pleasure-grounds. From Herat he went on to Mashhad, taking Tarbat-i-Jām on the way, where he paid his respects to his own and his wife's ancestor, the celebrated Ahmad-i-Jam, known as the "Premier Elephant." At Mashhad, too, he performed his devotions, and then went westward by the northern border of Persia, travelling leisurely and visiting shrines, etc., on the way. When he first arrived in Persia, Tahmāsp was in Qazwīn, which was then a great city, lying about 90 m. N. N. W. of Tehran. It figures much in the books of Persian historians and old European travellers, but now-a-days both it and its sovereign are chiefly interesting from being mentioned in "Paradise Lost." Humayun took so long on his journey that the hot weather set in and Tahmāsp left Qazwīn and went off to summer-quarters. It was in them, somewhere between Sultaniya and Abhar, that the two kings met. This was in July or August 1544, and more than six months after Humayun had entered Persian territory. Altogether Humayun's stay in Persia was for little more than a year, and but a small part of that period was spent in Tahmāsp's company. But it was the turning point of his fortunes.

The assistance which Tahmāsp gave him in men and money enabled him to take Qandahar in 1545, and this was the foundation of his future successes, just as the conquest of Kabul had been in his father's case. The Persians, therefore, are entitled to share in the credit of the restoration of the Moghul Empire, and of the career thereby furnished to the great Akbar. No doubt Tahmāsp was in some respects a narrow-minded precisian, and, like most kings, liable to gusts of passions and unworthy impulses. But then who bears a spirit wholly true to his ideal? Taken as a whole, Tahmāsp's treatment of his visitor was creditable to himself and to his nation, and may compare not unfavourably with Lewis XIV's reception of James II. The latter was more gentlemanly, perhaps; but it was certainly less effectual, and it should be remembered that James belonged to the same household of

faith as his host, and was a martyr to his principles, whereas Humayun was looked upon as a heretic, and perhaps as a pervert, for Timur, his first ancestor, had been a Shia. It appears that Tahmāsp was greatly influenced by his sister, Sultanam Khanam, who stood up for Humayun against her brother Bahrām Mirza. But this hardly lessens the credit due to Tahmāsp. If his sister spoke in Humayun's favour, his brother was keen against him and brought up the old story of Babar's treachery. Unfortunately Tahmāsp got but an ill-requital for his kindness to Humayun. Bahrām Mirza's warning came true, and Humayun kicked down the ladder as soon as he had mounted, just as Babar is said to have left the Persians in the lurch at the battle of Ghajdiwan.

Abul Fazl tells us that Humayun presented Tahmāsp with a large diamond and thereby repaid him more than twice over for all his expenditure on Humayun from the time of his entering Persia to the time of his leaving it. This is ungracious and very doubtful. If the diamond were really so valuable—and Abul Fazl says it was worth the revenue of kingdoms, and could have yielded enough to feed the whole world for half a day—and if it were a marketable commodity, why did not Humayun make use of it in that way, and raise an army by its means? The diamond had been in the hands of various possessors during several centuries without bringing them any particular good fortune. It had even belonged to an Aladdin ; but he, though a Sultan, had not found its utility come up to that of the Genie's ring. At any rate Tahmāsp does not seem to have regarded the stone as of superlative value, for he sent it as a present to Nizam Shah the ruler of the Deccan. This fact, which, perhaps, has not been hitherto noticed, is recorded in a history by the Nizam Shah's ambassador to Persia. He tells us, in a MS. preserved in the British Museum, that the diamond weighed six and a half misqāls, and that Tahmāsp sent it by the hands of Aga Aslan, also called Mahtar Jamal. This is interesting, for the diamond which Humayun gave to Tahmāsp was the same as that described by Babar in his Memoirs as having been obtained in Agra, and which, according to him, weighed about eight misqāls. It is thus what is known as Babar's diamond, and the fact of its having found its way to the Deccan in the 16th century seems to identify it with the diamond which Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's treasury. That, too, came from the Deccan, having been sent to Aurangzeb as a present by Mir Jamla. Is it not probable, indeed, that the fact of the diamond having belonged to Aurangzeb's ancestors may have been one reason why Mir Jamla sent it to him? If, then, the Babar diamond, and the Tavernier diamond

be one and the same, it may be that they are also identical with the Koh-i-Nur. In fact this follows from Ball's own line of reasoning. It is only, apparently, the idea that there were two diamonds, and his not being aware that the Babar diamond went to Persia and then returned to India, which led Mr. Ball to lay stress on a hearsay statement in Forbes' Oriental Memoirs. If the Babar diamond was not sent to Northern India by Mir Jamla, it ought to be still in the Deccan. But there seems to be no report of any such enormous diamond being there.

H. BEVERIDGE.

NOTE.

The passage about the diamond occurs at p. 58*b*. of British Museum, M. S. Or. 153, Rein's Catalogue I, 110*a*. After describing the meeting of Humayun and Tahmasp, and stating that the latter seated Humayun by his side, it proceeds as follows :—

"King Humayun made an offering (*peshkash*) of a diamond, which had come into the hands of his father Babar Mirza from the Treasury of Sultan Ibrahim, and which Mirza Babar had presented to His Majesty (Humayun), together with several rubies and emeralds. It is currently reported that a connoisseur estimated the value of that diamond as equal to two and a half days of the whole world's expenditure. Its weight was six and a half *mishqā's*. His Majesty the Shah, the protector of the Caliphate (Tahmasp), did not value it so highly. At last he sent it as a present to Nizam Shah, the Ruler of the Deccan, by the hands of Aga Aslān, commonly known as Mehtar Jamāl. An account of this will, D. V., be given shortly." The MS. in question is the copy of a work by one Shah Khūr Shāh, the envoy of the king of the Deccan. The Nizām Shāh dynasty was that of Ahmednagar, but it is possible that the Nizām Shāh in question belonged to the Golconda or Haiderabad dynasty, which is generally known as the Qutb Shāh dynasty. At all events it seems that Shāh Khūr Shāh was connected with the Golconda dynasty, for he died at Golconda in the end of 972 A. H. (June 1565). If, however, the Nizām Shāh to whom the diamond was sent be Bushān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, who reigned 914-961, the diamond must have been sent to him not later than 1554, *i.e.*, within ten years of Tahmasp's receiving it from Humayun. I do not know if Mir Jamla was in any way connected with Aga Aslām, *alias* Mehtar Jamāl, but it is worth noting that Mir Jamla was of Persian origin and came from the neighbourhood of Ispahan.

H. B.

THE UNKNOWN GOD.

[SEE *Fortnightly Review*, SEPTEMBER 1897.]

If—as you say—the Power that made
Our earth, our kind, in mere disgust
Have hidden far off in trackless shade
And left us writhing—dust in dust—,
And stars their courses blindly keep,
Why should men work or women weep ?

The labourer at the weary mill,
His wife who guides the ceaseless wheel,
What is it tames their clamorous will,
And makes them rather want than steal ?
Or have they not, in brain and nerve,
A GOD they ignorantly serve ?

If one who scales the height alone
From murmuring and despair desists,
It is not for his shadow, thrown
Gigantic on the ambient mists ;
He hopes to find his Friend, at last,
When all his pilgrimage is past :

When Paul proclaimed that unknown Lord,

He meant not what you seem to sing,

He pointed to a King ignored

Not to a vague and futile thing,

One who regards our helpless lot

With pity, though we know Him not.

And if He order all things well,

And in our veins His purpose run,

We will not talk of Heaven or Hell,

But gladly cry :—" His will be done ! "

For neither need we hope nor fear

When life's full fruit is gathered *here*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CORRECTION.

TO THE EDITOR, *Calcutta Review*.

DEAR SIR,

IN my article on the Emperor Babar, in the *Review* for July last, p. 24, I remarked that Professor Dowson had taken a paragraph, without acknowledgment, from Lord Jeffrey. I now find, from an Addendum inserted in the Preface to Vol. VI of Elliot's History, that I have done Professor Dowson an injustice, which I should like, with your permission, to correct. It appears that the paper in which the passage from Jeffrey occurs was by Elliot, and that it was by accident that the source from which it was taken was not indicated.

Yours faithfully,

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE QUARTER.

THOUGH the storm and stress which marked the period covered by our last retrospect have since somewhat abated, they are still far from having entirely passed away. In India, with the assurance of an abundant winter harvest, acute distress has disappeared from all but a few specially impoverished tracts, to be succeeded, there is good reason for hoping, by a season of more than usual plenty. On the other hand, there has been a serious recrudescence of the Plague in the Western Presidency; while, in spite of the heavy sacrifices of men and money that have been incurred in the operations on our North-West Frontier, the most important section of the tribes still refuse to submit to our terms, and there is little hope of an early termination of hostilities. On the Continent of Europe, the Concert of the Powers remains unbroken; but the political mind is profoundly unsettled; there are ominous clouds in the political horizon, and disturbances have occurred in one quarter which may be the forerunners of a grave internecine conflict. In England, the political atmosphere has remained untroubled; but the great Engineering strike, which still continues, has been attended by consequences most disastrous to the trade of the country, and the Metropolis has been the scene of the most destructive fire of the century.

Public attention in India, especially among the native community, has been largely engrossed, during the period we are chronicling, by the trials for sedition which have taken place in the Bombay Presidency, and notably by that of Gangadhar Tilok, the well known Editor of the *Kesari*, whose arrest was noticed in our last number.

The trial resulted in a verdict of guilty, by a majority of six to three, against Tilak himself, while the printer was unanimously acquitted. In summing up, Mr. Justice Strachey, before whom the case was tried, directed the jury that "disaffection," as used in Section 124 A of the Penal Code, meant absence of affection, hostility, or ill-will, of any sort and of whatever degree, towards the Government. Application for leave to appeal to the Privy Council was refused by the Court, on the ground that, though this definition of disaffection, as including mere absence of affection, was erroneous, the jury could not have been misled by it, in view of the context. Application for special leave to appeal was made to Her Majesty's Privy Council, but was refused.

In the *Pratoda* case, in which the defendant had been convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for life by the Sessions Judge, the conviction was affirmed by a Full Bench of the High Court, but the sentence was reduced to one of eighteen months imprisonment. The Court held that Mr. Justice Strachey's definition of disaffection, as including mere absence of affection, was erroneous, and that the term was used in the section in the special sense of political alienation or discontent. Upon this point, Mr. Justice Parsons is reported to have said :—"In my opinion, the word 'dis-affection' used in the section under discussion—124A—can not be construed as meaning an absence, or the contrary, of affection or love, that is to say, dislike or hatred, but must be taken to have been employed in its special sense as signifying political alienation or discontent, that is to say, a feeling of disloyalty to the Government, or existing power, which tends to a disposition not to obey, but to resist, or subvert, that Government or power." The same view is laid down plainly enough by Chief Justice Farran also, when, after quoting Murray's definition of the word—"absence or alienation of affection, of kindly feeling; dislike, hostility, especially political alienation or discontent; a spirit of disloyalty to the Government, or disloyalty—," he adds : "It is in the last sense, I think, that it is employed in the main portion of the section."

The defendant in the *Moda Vritta* case, which was a particularly gross one, was convicted and sentenced to nine months simple imprisonment. In the *Vaibhav* case, the jury disagreed and were discharged; and ultimately an apology was accepted and the prosecution dropped.

The question of the interpretation to be put upon section 124-A. of the Penal Code has also been considered by the Allahabad High Court, in the case of the appeal of one Amba Pershad against the sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment passed upon him by the Sessions Judge in what is known as the *Moradabad Case*. In this case the defendant had pleaded guilty, and the appeal was for a reduction of the sentence. The Court, in confirming the sentence, expressed their opinion that, having regard to the gravity of the offence, the punishment was entirely inadequate. The judgment of the Court, which, on most points, concurred in the views of Mr. Justice Strachey and the Full Bench of the Bombay High Court, contains the following important passage :—

"The intention of a speaker, writer or publisher may be inferred from the particular speech, article, or letter, or it may be proved from that speech, article, or letter, considered in conjunction with what such speaker, writer or publisher has said, written or published on another or other occasions. Where it is ascertained that the intention of the speaker, writer, or publisher, was to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British

India, it is immaterial whether or not the words spoken, written, or published, could have the effect of exciting such feelings of disaffection, and it is immaterial whether the words were true or were false, and, except on the question of punishment, or in a case in which the speaker, writer, or publisher, is charged with having excited such feelings of disaffection, it is immaterial whether or not the words did in fact excite such feelings of disaffection."

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 21st instant, the Honourable Mr. Chalmers announced the intention of the Government, during the Committee stage of the Bills before the Council for the amendment of the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes, to propose a series of important amendments in the law relating to sedition. One of these is that the present section 124-A shall be repealed and the following substituted for it :—

"124A.—Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government, or promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or ill-will between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to ten years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

"*Explanation 1.*—The expression 'disaffection' includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity or ill-will.

"*Explanation 2.*—Comments on the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence."

Another is to repeal section 505 of the Penal Code, dealing with the offence of disseminating certain false statements and rumours conducing to the public injury, and to substitute for it the following section :—

"505. Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report,—

"(a) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of Her Majesty, or in the Royal Indian Marine, or in the Imperial Service Troops, to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such ; or

"(b) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, or to any section of the public, whereby they may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity ; or

"(c) with intent to incite, or which is likely to incite, any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community ; shall be punished with imprisonment of either description which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

"*Exception*—It does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section to make, publish or circulate any such statement, rumour or report as aforesaid when such statement, rumour or report is true, and is made, published, or circulated without such intent as aforesaid."

It is further proposed to empower Presidency or District Magistrates to require sureties for good behaviour from persons disseminating seditious matter, and to make offences under section 124A. triable by Presidency Magistrates and Magistrates of the first class.

It is evident that all these proposals, and especially the last two, call for very careful consideration.

One Damodar Chapekar, a Deccan Brahman, of the age of twenty-eight, who has been arrested by the Poona police, has made a full confession of having, with an accomplice, murdered Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. The man appears, from his confession, which has been confirmed in many particulars, to have been long possessed with a mania for destruction, and he accuses himself of having perpetrated the recent outrage on the Queen's statue and set fire to a large mandap at Poona. He declares his motive to have been to die in order to put an end to the oppression that was being committed in connexion with the administration of the Plague regulations ; and he seems to have dogged Mr. Rand's steps for some weeks before finding what he considered a favourable opportunity for carrying out his purpose.

The trial, after repeated postponements, has been fixed for the 28th instant.

It would be quite impracticable to enter, in this place, into the details of the warfare on our North-West Frontier. It must suffice to note that the Malakand operations under General Sir Bindon Blood, which were brought to a successful conclusion at the latter end of August, were followed by a punitive expedition into the Mohmund country ; and this, in its turn, led to operations against the Mamunds. The Mohmund country was traversed by a force under Major-General Ellis between the 15th September and the 7th October. An armed gathering under the Hadda Mullah in the Bedmanai Pass was easily dispersed ; our troops penetrated to the Mullah's headquarters, and such of the tribesmen as refused to accept our terms were punished.

The operations in the Mamund country and Bajaur were necessitated by a night attack on Brigadier-General Jeffrey's force, while encamped near the Rambat Pass, on its way to the Mohmand country, which resulted in the loss of two British officers, but was repulsed. Subsequently, in the course of a movement undertaken by General Jeffrey for the purpose of occupying Bilot, he became separated from the main body of the force during a storm, and was compelled to entrench himself, with a weak detachment, in one of the enemy's villages, where he was subjected to a heavy fire from the enemy, who occupied a portion of the village, but was ultimately relieved by two companies of the Guides and two of the 35th Sikhs under Major Worledge. After two desperate night attacks on the camp had been repelled, Agrah and Got were taken on the 30th September, with a loss of two officers and 12 men killed and six officers and 43 men wounded, and the Mamund Jirgah submitted some days later.

These operations were followed by an expedition against

the Orakzais and Afridis, the decision for the despatch of which is understood to have been arrived at by a majority of one in the Governor-General's Council. General Lockhart, who was entrusted with the command of the expedition, consisting of some 40,000 men, of whom nearly a third were British, issued his proclamation to these tribes on the 14th October. The operations began with the capture of the Daigai Changiu defile, by a force under General Palmer, after severe fighting. Subsequently the Orakzais attacked General Kempster's brigade, but were driven off after a sharp struggle, whereupon, for reasons which have not been satisfactorily explained, the force returned to Shinwari. The enemy promptly re-occupied the Dargai heights, and they had to be retaken, on the 20th October, by General Ycatman-Biggs, the operation resulting in the severest action of the whole campaign, attended by heavy losses to our force. The Sampagha Pass was captured, General Gaselee's brigade leading, on the 28th October, with comparatively small loss, owing largely to the enemy's sangars having been rendered untenable by artillery fire before the attack was delivered. The subsequent fighting has been mainly of a guerilla character; but General Kempster's brigade was heavily engaged at Saran Sar on the 16th November and suffered severe losses, and there was severe fighting during the return of the force by the Bara Valley, all sections of the Afridis uniting to attack the rear of the retiring brigades.

The Orakzais have submitted to our terms; but the Afridis still hold out; and the expeditionary force is now concentrated at Baikai and Jamrud preparatory to re-occupying the Khyber Pass and scouring the Bazar Valley.

It is impossible to review the operations without feeling that the results have been hopelessly incommensurate with the suffering and loss of life they have involved. Indeed, it is difficult to see that any useful object has been accomplished by them. We have proved to the Afridis that, in spite of anything they can do to prevent us, we can march an army from one end of their country to the other, dealing destruction to their villages and towers by the way. But the exploit, as far as can be judged from their behaviour, has made very little impression on them. They have not only refused our terms, but defied us to the last; the withdrawal of our forces, which they probably regard as a confession of defeat, has been the occasion some of the severest fighting of the campaign, and there is every probability that, as soon as the worst of the winter is over, we shall have to do our work over again.

One result of the operations has been the abandonment of the Viceroy's Burmah tour; and His Excellency after visiting Darjeeling returned to Calcutta on the 10th instant.

One of the most important events of the period under review has been the refusal of the British Government, acting under the strong recommendation of the Government of India, to give its adherence to the proposals of France and the United States, that, under certain conditions, the Government of India should re-open its mints to the coinage of silver.

The proposals in question were, briefly, to the effect that, if the Government of Great Britain would agree to re-open its Indian Mints to silver and close them to gold, and would make certain other concessions of a comparatively unimportant character, and if, further, they should be satisfied that they would receive such assistance from other Powers as would justify them in opening their mints to the free coinage of silver at a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, the Governments in question would take steps to summon an International Conference to deal with the matter.

The question was the subject of an extremely able despatch of the Government of India, who stated it to be their unanimous and decided opinion that it would be most unwise to re-open the mints, as part of the proposed arrangement, "especially at a time when we are, to all appearances, approaching the attainment of stability in exchange by the operation of our own isolated and independent action," and strongly recommended Her Majesty's Government to decline to give the undertaking desired.

The main reason assigned in the despatch for this conclusion was that, while the first result of the suggested measures would be an intense and probably prolonged disturbance of Indian trade and industry, owing to the sudden rise of exchange from about 16*d.* to about 23*d.* per rupee which they would cause, there was grave risk of the attempt of France and the United States to maintain the ratio failing, in which case the ultimate result would be that exchange would fall, as suddenly as it had risen, to a point far below its present level, with consequences most disastrous to India.

"If," say the authors of the Despatch, "the public were not convinced that the arrangement would have the effect intended, or believed that it would not be permanent, the paralysis of trade and industry would be prolonged and accompanied by acute individual suffering; none of the advantages expected would be attained, and the country would pass through a critical period which would retard its progress for years. How long the crisis would last before normal or stable conditions were restored, it is not possible to conjecture. It would be long even if the mercantile and banking community saw that silver was being steadily maintained at the prescribed rates; while any indication of unsteadiness would greatly prolong

the period by giving foundation for doubt. If the doubt were justified by the result, the position would be disastrous alike to the State, to individuals and to trade generally. The exchange value of the rupee having risen suddenly without any intermediate steps, from 16*d.* to some higher figure, it would fall quite as suddenly to a point far lower than its present level, probably to 9*d.*, or even lower. Such a fall would, apart from other disastrous results, necessitate the imposition of additional taxation to the extent of many crores."

Among the reasons given for the opinion of the Government of India that the proposed arrangement would probably fail to maintain the ratio, was the fact that it rested on too narrow a basis. "A union consisting of two countries, with a third lending assistance, is," they observe, "a very different thing from the general international union of all or most of the important countries of the world which was advocated by the Government of India in the despatches of March and June 1892, and of February and September, 1886. To afford a hope that a monetary union will succeed in establishing stability in the relative value of gold and silver, it is essential that the nations adhering to it should be of such number and importance that the metallic currency of the whole body shall be of sufficient extent to allow of the exercise of adequate influence on the value of the two metals. We doubt whether any two or even three nations in the world, unless, indeed, one of them was (*sic*) Great Britain, could comply with this condition, and we have no hesitation in saying that France and United States certainly could not."

Another of the reasons assigned is the possibility of either France or the United States being reduced to a paper currency in which event the agreement would, from the force of circumstances, cease to operate for an indefinite period. A third is the consideration that a three-sided agreement is open to much greater risk of termination by the action of one or two of the parties than a many-sided agreement such as the Government of India had advocated on previous occasions. Added to this, the authors of the despatch point out, there is the possibility of France or the United States being compelled to abandon the arrangement in order to prevent its gold reserves from disappearing. "It is quite possible that the whole of the gold coinage of both France and the United States might disappear and be replaced by silver coins before the market value of silver was raised to the intended ratio with gold. Whether the Governments of those countries would allow a total displacement of their gold by silver coins, and the possible export from the country of the entire stock of gold is * * * * open to more than doubt; and in so far as either enforces measures to prevent gold from being exported, the power of the union,

and possibly also its desire, to effect its object will be diminished."

The Government of India, it may be added, declare their readiness to reconsider the question in the event of assurances of really substantial co-operation being received from other Powers ; but, at the same time, they express their conviction that, whatever inducements may be held out by other nations, their best policy in monetary matters is to link their system with that of Great Britain. In any case, they are of opinion, the true interests of India demand that any measures for securing the stability of the rate of exchange should be based on a ratio not greatly differing from that equivalent to 16*d*. per rupee, and they consider that the difficulty of making the proposed arrangement effective is immensely increased by the adoption of a ratio differing so widely from that rate as 15½ of silver to 1 of gold.

Referring to the passage in the Despatch of the Secretary of State in which it is objected to the present system that it is one of arbitrary restriction, the Government of India point out that it is not permanent. "We are," they say, "in a transition period, moving from one system to another, and the present artificial restriction is merely a temporary expedient which has for its sole object the acceleration of the movement and which will cease with the completion of the movement. Thereafter the expansion and contraction of the currency will be left to the natural forces of the market ; that is, it will be regulated automatically by the inflow and outflow of gold."

The frontier policy of the Government of India has been made the subject of a severe attack by Mr. Fowler in a speech at Wolverhampton; on the ground, not only that it is fraught with danger to the Indian Empire, but that it involves a violation of the assurances given in Lord Elgin's proclamation to the tribes. In reply to the latter charge, it has been pointed out by Lord George Hamilton that the question was not raised by his predecessor in his official despatches to the Viceroy, and that, though the charge was referred to in his private telegrams, the late Government had decided to overrule Lord Elgin's proposals on wholly independent grounds.

The following is the text of the private telegrams above referred to :—

" Mr. Fowler to the Viceroy, 30th May, 1895.

" Private. Chitral. No doubt you have considered probable charge of inconsistency between the terms of your Proclamation to the tribes and policy advocated in your Despatch of 8th May, Foreign Secret. As strong feeling on this subject exists here, I should be glad if you would telegraph privately any observation, or explanation, which occurs to you.

" The Viceroy to Mr. Fowler, 31st May 1895.

" Private. Yours of 30th, Chitral.

" I anticipated charge, but think it is met by consideration of circumstances :—

"1st.—Proclamation declares intention of providing against future invasions of Chitral as well as ending present. This covers means necessary for maintenance of garrison.

"2nd.—We promised peaceful retirement inviting co-operation of tribes. Their opposition altered the conditions.

"3rd.—We do not propose annexation of any territory, or any interference with local independence, but to provide for opening of a road through territory outside British India. This principle not uncommon on frontier,—e.g., routes like Gomal, and perhaps strongest case, Peshawar to Kohat through Afidi country. It was also accepted by China in case of Namkhan road.

"4th.—Above all, we propose to proceed by negotiation with tribes. Best route reported to pass through Swat and Dir only. Khan of Dir will almost certainly consent, for if we withdraw, he will very probably be driven out. Swatis reported to expect and wish us to remain.

"5th.—I agree that at first troops will be required for protection of road, but example of Hunza levies encourages belief that large part of work may eventually be done by levies and allowances to tribes."

It has been announced by the Secretary for War that the Government propose to increase each of the Home battalions with the view of securing a larger margin of seasoned soldiers; to regroup the infantry; to engage a small number of Reservists annually on increased pay, and to provide the soldier with a clear shilling a day.

The great fire in the city to which we have already referred, and which is suspected to have been the work of incendiarism, destroyed a great portion of the buildings, chiefly large warehouses, between Fore Street and Aldersgate Street in Cripple-gate, and caused damage variously estimated at from one million to four millions sterling.

It has been definitely announced by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach that there will be an advance on Khartoum, and that Parliament will be asked, if necessary, to assist Egypt, and also India, financially. The transfer of Kassala to the Egyptian Government has commenced.

There are at last signs that the great engineering strike is approaching an end. Two conferences between masters and men have been held. The first of these proved practically fruitless, both sides refusing to yield on the question of hours; the second, however, has resulted in a provisional agreement on all other points; and a fresh ballot of the men is being taken.

Recent events have afforded clear indications of a nascent regrouping of the Great Powers in Europe. It seems more than ever likely that the Porte will find that its recent triumph over the infidel is very far from having improved its position. The treaty of peace between the late belligerents has at last been signed; but the Sultan has been warned, in the most practical of ways, that he can hope to enjoy the fruits of his victory only so far as it pleases the Powers to allow him to do so. It had been arranged to employ part of the war indemnity in reorganising the Turkish navy; but, notwithstanding that there

was nothing aggressive in the scale on which this was to be done, Russia informed the Porte that, if any part of the money were spent on armaments, she would demand the arrears of the Russo-Turkish war indemnity, and the scheme has accordingly been abandoned. About the same time Austria demanded an indemnity of a quarter of a million on account of the expulsion of the Austrian Lloyds Agent from Mersina, threatening to bombard the place in the event of non-compliance, and the Sultan promptly ordered the money to be paid.

One need not look very far beneath the surface to see in this action on the part of the two Powers a practical protest against the recent rapprochement between Berlin and Constantinople, and, at the same time, to find in it strong confirmation of the belief that an understanding on the Eastern question has been arrived at between Russia and Austria.

A fierce feud has arisen between the German and Czech parties in Austria on the language question and has given rise to violent scenes in the Reichsrath, ending in its prorogation, the resignation of the Prime Minister, and serious riots in Bohemia.

Germany has occupied the port of Kiaochau in China in order to obtain reparation for the late outrage on German missionaries at Shantung, and as a guarantee against similar occurrences in future. The demands made are said to be the payment of an indemnity; liberty to erect a Cathedral at Shantung; the punishment of the authors of the outrage, and the cession of Kiaochau as a coaling station. Russia is said to have acquiesced in the occupation, on condition of getting a free hand in Korea; but it is naturally resented by Japan, who will probably demand some set-off and is making extensive naval preparations.

The Spanish Government has issued a decree granting autonomy to Cuba and Porto Rico, with parliamentary institutions, the supreme power being vested in a Governor-General.

The Italian Cabinet has resigned and a fresh Cabinet has been formed by Rudini.

An application for a fresh trial of the exile Dreyfus has been refused by the French Government, in the face of considerable popular agitation.

With a single exception President McKinley's message to the United States Congress seems to have been moderate and statesmanlike. He insisted on the absolute necessity of reform in the currency and banking system; declared that America must give Spain a reasonable chance of realising reforms in Cuba and would not intervene forcibly unless the necessity for doing so were to become manifest to the whole

world ; expressed a hope that Senator Wolcott's labours would still result in an international agreement regarding silver, and recommended annexation of Hawaii.

The obituary for the period under review includes the names of H. R. H. the Duchess of Teck ; the Countess of Lathom ; Baron Pollock ; Alphonse Daudet ; Mr. R. H. Hutton ; Mr. C. Rae-Browne ; General Bourbaki ; Sir H. Lushington ; Sir John Gilbert, R. A. ; Professor F. Newman ; Major-General R. B. P. Campbell, C.B. ; Mr. C. A. Dana ; Major-General Sir J. Nuttall, K C B. ; Mr. George M. Pullman ; Sir P. Lepage Renouf ; Mr. F. T. Palgrave ; Mdme. Couvreur ; Surgeon-General W. R. Cornish, C.I.E. ; Lord Rosmead ; Sir Rutherford Alcock ; Mr. Henry George ; Colonel Chard, V.C. ; Surgeon-Major-General, Sir W. A. Mackinnon ; Signor G. B. Cavalcaselle ; Professor W. H. von Riel ; Sir Henry Doulton ; Professor H. Calderwood ; General Sir A. J. Herbert, K.C.B. ; Admiral Sir A. Phillimore ; Rev. Professor James Legge ; Mr. W. Terriss ; Sir Frank Lockwood ; and Sir W. Maxwell.

December 23, 1897.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Twelve Indian Statesmen. By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D.,
Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Royal Statistical
Societies, London : John Murray, Albemarle Street 1897.

DR. SMITH seems to us to have been a little unfortunate in his selection either of a title for his book, or of the subjects for the memoirs which it comprehends. No one will dispute the claim either of John Clark Marshman, as an historian and journalist of conspicuous merit, a successful educationist and an ardent philanthropist, or of Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie, C. B., as a brave soldier and chivalrous gentleman, to a high place among Indian worthies. But we know of no ground on which either of them can be appropriately included in a list of Indian statesmen. The anomaly, moreover, is emphasised by the author in his Preface, when he claims that the "Twelve statesmen sketched in this volume were chief among the Empire-builders of the nineteenth century." That all the twelve were, in some sense, Empire-builders; that several of them may fairly be ranked as *primi inter pares* in that category, will be generally granted. But to say that, as a body, they were chief among the Empire-builders of the nineteenth century, even in India, is to advance a claim which has only to be stated to be unhesitatingly rejected by nine critics out of ten.

Apart from this preliminary objection, and apart from a certain narrowness of spirit which finds expression in the writer's opinion that the salvation of India depends upon its evangelisation, the chief defect in Dr. Smith's work seems to us to be the tone of exaggeration in which he is apt to indulge. For the scale on which they are written, the biographies produce an effect of completeness which furnishes strong testimony to the judgment exercised by the author in the selection of his facts.

The subjects of the biographies are Charles Grant an almost forgotten worthy, of whom the writer says in his Preface that "he was the first to work out the ethical principles on which alone Great Britain could found its Indian Empire; he also had the chief influence in educating public opinion and persuading Parliament to give these principles active authority"; Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.; John Lord Lawrence, G.C.B.; Sir James Outram, G.C.B.; Sir Donald M'Leod, K.C.S.I., C. B.; Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C. B.; Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie, C. B.; Sir Herbert B. Edwards,

K.C.B., K.C.S.I. ; John Clark Marshman, C.S.I. ; Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K. C. S. I. ; Sir Henry Ramsay, K.C.S.I., C.B. ; Sir Charles U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

"It is an accident," remarks Dr. Smith, "but all the more significant on that account, that the twelve unconsciously revealed the strain of Puritanism which has been said to mark the greatest and most zealous patriotism." We cannot, however, help feeling that the "accident" referred to has not been wholly inoperative in determining Dr. Smith's selection of his heroes. We question, moreover, whether any strain of Puritanism can be justly attributed to Sir Henry Sumner Maine.

The Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius. Translated into English Prose and Verse by H. R. James, M. A., Ch. Ch., Oxford. London: Elliot Stock 1897.

THE circumstances under which it was composed ; the character of its subject-matter, and the high estimate in which it was held for more than a thousand years, combine to invest the famous *Consolation of Philosophy* with an interest unsurpassed by that attaching to any work of antiquity.

Its author, who was one of the most accomplished men of his time, and whose distinction it is to have handed on the tradition of Greek philosophy to the Middle Ages by his translations into Latin of the works of some of its greatest writers, was raised by the Emperor Theodoric to the highest offices in the State. After he had lived to see his two sons made joint Consuls, a false charge was made against him of conspiring against his master, and he was cast into prison at Pavia. It was while he was lying there under sentence of death that he composed the "*Consolation of Philosophy*," a work which has been translated into every European tongue and was a treasure-house to our own Chaucer and many other writers of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

In it, to quote Mr. James' short, but excellent, Preface, Boethius "represents himself as seated in his prison distraught with grief, indignant at the injustice of his misfortunes, and seeking relief for his melancholy in writing verses descriptive of his condition. Suddenly there appears to him the Divine figure of Philosophy, in the guise of a woman of superhuman dignity and beauty, who, by a succession of discourses, convinces him of the vanity of regret for the lost gifts of fortune, raises his mind once more to the contemplation of the true good, and makes clear to him the mystery of the world's moral government."

This colloquy, interspersed with the poetical reflections of Boethius, forms the substance of the work, in the course of

which such subjects as the vanity of fortune's gifts, the nature of true happiness, the problem of evil, the reconciliation of free-will with the Divine fore-knowledge, are discussed with much acumen, if without any very satisfactory result.

The following passage regarding the distinction between eternity and everlasting duration may give an idea of the reasoning of Boethius at its best :—

'God is eternal ; in this judgment all rational beings agree. Let us, then, consider what eternity is. For this word carries with it a revelation alike of the Divine nature and of the Divine knowledge. Now, eternity is the possession of endless life whole and perfect at a single moment. What this is, becomes more clear and manifest from a comparison with things temporal. For whatever lives in time is a present proceeding from the past to the future, and there is nothing set in time which can embrace the whole space of its life together. To-morrow's state it grasps not yet, while it has already lost yesterday ; nay, even in the life of to-day ye live no longer than one brief transitory moment. Whatever, therefore, is subject to the condition of time, although, as Aristotle deemed of the world, it never have either beginning or end, and its life be stretched to the whole extent of time's infinity, it yet is not such as rightly to be thought eternal. For it does not include and embrace the whole space of infinite life at once, but has no present hold on things to come, not yet accomplished. Accordingly, that which includes and possesses the whole fulness of unending life at once, from which nothing future is absent, from which nothing past has escaped, this is rightly called eternal ; this must of necessity be ever present to itself in full self-possession, and hold the infinity of movable time in an abiding present. Wherefore they deem not rightly who imagine that on Plato's principles the created world is made co-eternal with the Creator, because they are told that he believed the world to have had no beginning in time,* and to be destined never to come to an end. For it is one thing for existence to be endlessly prolonged, which was what Plato ascribed to the world, another for the whole of an endless life to be embraced in the present, which is manifestly a property peculiar to the Divine mind. Nor need God appear earlier in mere duration of time to created things, but only prior in the unique simplicity of His nature. For the infinite progression of things in time copies this immediate existence in the present of the changeless life, and when it cannot succeed in equalling it, declines from movelessness into motion, and falls away from the simplicity of a perpetual present to the infinite duration of the future and the past ; and since it cannot possess the whole fulness of its life together, for the very reason that in a manner it never ceases to be, it seems, up to a certain point, to rival that which it cannot complete and express by attaching itself indifferently to any present moment of time, however swift and brief ; and since this bears some resemblance to that ever abiding present, it bestows on everything to which it is assigned the semblance of existence. But since it cannot abide, it hurries along the infinite path of time, and the result has been that it continues by ceaseless movement the life the completeness of which it could not embrace while it stood still. So, if we are minded to give things their right names, we shall follow Plato in saying that God indeed is eternal, but the world everlasting.

'Since, then, every mode of judgment comprehends its objects conformably to its own nature, and since God abides for ever in an eternal present, His knowledge, also transcending all movement of time, dwells in the simplicity of its own changeless present, and embracing the whole infinite sweep of the past and of the future, contemplates all that falls within its simple cognition as if it were now taking place. And therefore, if thou wilt carefully consider that immediate presentment whereby it discriminates all things, thou wilt more rightly deem it not foreknowledge as of something future, but knowledge of

* Plato expressly states the opposite in the "Timæus" (28B), though possibly there the account of the beginning of the world in time is to be understood figuratively, not literally. See Jowett, vol. iii., pp. 448, 449 (3rd edit.).

a moment that never passes. For this cause the name chosen to describe it is not prevision, but providence because, since utterly removed in nature from things mean and trivial, its outlook embraces all things as from some lofty height. Why, then, dost thou insist that the things which are surveyed by the Divine eye are involved in necessity, whereas clearly men impose no necessity on things which they see? Does the act of vision add any necessity to the things which thou seest before thy eyes?

Mr. James has performed his work of translation with conspicuous ability. His renderings of the poetical interludes are in many cases exceedingly happy, while the lucidity of the summaries with which he has prefaced the different divisions of the work could hardly be surpassed. Into the controversy as to the religion of Boethius, or of the author of the "Consolation," upon which, in spite of Mr. Hodgkin's verdict, that the Christian dogmatic treatises bearing the name of Boethius are genuine, the last word has not, perhaps, yet been said, he does not enter.

A specimen of Mr. James' poetical versions may conclude this notice.

SONG VI.

THE UNIVERSAL AIM.

Wouldst thou with unclouded mind
View the laws by God designed,
Lift thy steadfast gaze on high
To the starry canopy;
See in rightful league of love
All the constellations move.
Fiery Sol. in full career,
Ne'er obstructs cold Phœbe's sphere,
When the Bear, at heaven's height,
Wheels his coursers' rapid flight,
Though he sees the starry train
Sinking in the western main,
He repines not, nor desires
In the flood to quench his fires.
In true sequence, as decreed,
Daily morn and eve succeed;
Vesper brings the shades of night,
Lucifer the morning light.
Love in alternation due,
Still the cycle doth renew,
And discordant strife is driven
From the starry realm of heaven.
Thus, in wondrous amity,
Warring elements agree;
Hot and cold, and moist and dry,
Lay their ancient quarrel by;
High the flickering flame ascends,
Downward earth for ever tends.
So the year in spring's mild hours
Loads the air with scent of flowers;

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Summer paints the golden grain ;
Then, when autumn comes again,
Bright with fruit the orchards glow ;
Winter brings the rain and snow.
Thus the season's fixed progression,
Tempered in a due succession,
Nourishes and brings to birth
All that lives and breathes on earth.
Then, soon runs life's little day,
All it brought it takes away.

But One sits and guides the reins,
He who nade and all sustains ;
King and Lord and Fountain-head,
Judge most holy, Law most dread ;
Now impels and now keeps back,
Holds each waverer in the track.
Else, were once the power withheld
That the circling spheres compelled
In their orbits to revolve,
This world's order would dissolve,
And th' harmonious whole would all
In one hideous ruin fall.

But through this connected frame
Runs one universal aim ;
Towards the Good do all things tend,
Many paths, but one the end.
For nought lasts, unless it turns
Backward in its course, and years
To that Source to flow again
Whence its being first was ta'en.

Pseudepigrapha: an Account of certain Apocryphal Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. By the Rev William J. Deane, M. A., Edinburgh : T & T. Clark.

IN this work the author has reproduced certain articles which have been contributed by him, from time to time, to different religious periodicals, and which treat of the Pseudepigraphical Jewish and Christian writings of the times immediately preceding and following the dawn of the Christian era. These writings, which appeared under the assumed name of some famous person are not, the writer tells us, to be regarded as literary forgeries, but were, in his opinion, put forward in this manner by their authors in order that they might claim attention, and as a guarantee of their quality, it being taken for granted that a writer, in assuming a celebrated title, would himself be gifted in some degree to justify it. In this way men sought to propagate their views regarding the fall of man, the future reserved for him, the coming of the Messiah and the final

judgment. That this view may be rightly taken of some of the works of the period, cannot be doubted ; but there is no evidence to show that it applies to all the writings cited by the author as pseudepigraphical. It is quite clear that it is not the view held regarding the book of Enoch, to take but one example, by the writer of the Epistle to Barnabas, who says : "The final stumbling block hath approached, concerning which it is written as Enoch says : For to this end the Lord hath shortened the times and the days, that his beloved may hasten and come into his inheritance." Tertullian also regarded the work as inspired. "These things," he writes, "the Holy Ghost, foreseeing from the beginning the future entrance of superstitions, foretold by the mouth of the ancient seer Enoch." Origen, again, the writer admits, "used its language and adopted its ideas as emanating from one of the greatest of prophets." St. Augustine and Clement of Alexandria, on the other hand, appear to have doubted its authenticity, but did not attempt to put forward the theory presented to us by Mr. Deane. It seems to us clear that, although these books may not have been put forward as actually written by the persons under whose names they were given to the world, some at least of them were intended to be taken as faithful records of the doings and sayings of those persons ; and that they were so taken, is evident from many expressions concerning them to be found in the writings of the early Fathers. Another objection to the editor's definition is that it does not sufficiently distinguish the Pseudepigrapha with which he deals from certain books of the Sacred Canon, which are obviously pseudepigraphical. The documents are divided by the writer into three classes : The first he designates the Lyrical ; the second the Prophetical, which is again divided into two sections, The Apocalyptic and the Testaments ; and the third the Historical, or Haggadistic. In the second of these classes we find the Book of Enoch, an extremely interesting and important document, which not only throws considerable light on the religious belief of the Jews at that period of their history, but indicates to us the source whence Milton drew inspiration for *Paradise Lost*, and of a vast amount of curious apocryphal legends which crept into the early Christian religion, and of which traces are discernible in it to the present day. Although it had been known to scholars for many centuries that there was a book extant under the name of Enoch, it was not until 1821 that it was brought fully before the world. It would be impossible to give, in the space of a review, anything like an adequate description of its contents ; but the following passages will serve to show something of its beauty, and the quaintness of some of the legends it sets forth.

Section i. (chaps. vi.—xi.) narrates the fall of the angels and its immediate consequences. Seeing the beauty of the daughters of men, two hundred angels under the leadership of Semyaza bound themselves by an oath to take wives from among mortal women. For this purpose they descended on Mount Hermon, and in due time became parents of giants of fabulous height and size. These monsters devoured all the substance of men, and then proceeded to devour men themselves; they also taught mankind all kind of destructive arts, and vice flourished under their instruction. And men cried aloud to heaven, and the four archangels heard them, and appealed to God in their behalf. And God sent Uriel to Noah, the son of Lamech, to warn him of the flood, and ordered Raphael to bind Azazel, and lay him in a dark cleft in the wilderness, there to remain till the fire received him at the day of judgment. Gabriel had to set the giants one against the other that they might perish by mutual slaughter; to Michael fell the duty of punishing the evil angels: they were to witness the destruction of their offspring, and then be buried under the earth for seventy generations till the judgment day, when they should be cast into eternal fire. Then, when all sin and impurity shall be purged away "at the end of all generations," the plant of righteousness shall appear and a new order of things; the saints shall live till they have begotten a thousand children, and shall die in peace; the earth shall be fruitful, and be planted with all manner of trees; no corruption, or crime, or suffering shall be found therein; "in those days," saith God, "I will open the store-chambers of blessing which are in heaven, that they may descend upon the earth, and on the work and labour of men. Peace and righteousness shall join together, in all the days of the world and through all families of the earth."

Section ii. (chaps. xii.—xvi.) After it has been said that Enoch was hidden from men's sight, being wholly engaged with the holy ones, he himself tells how the good angels sent him to the fallen angels, whose intercourse with heaven was entirely cut off, to announce their doom. Terrified, they entreat him to write for them a petition to God for forgiveness; he complies with their request, leaves their unholy neighbourhood, and retreating to the region of Dan, falls asleep and has a vision of judgment, which he afterwards is commissioned to unfold to the disobedient angels. Their petition is refused now and for ever. And the dread answer was given to him, as he relates, in a vision, wherein he was rapt to the palace of heaven and the presence of the Almighty, of which he gives a very noble description.

The second division contained in chaps. xxxvii.—lxxi., is called "The second Vision of Wisdom," and consists of three parables, allegories, or similitudes, through the medium of which Enoch relates the revelations which he received concerning the ideal future and the secrets of the spiritual world. Many of the matters which he mentions we should treat as physical phenomena; in his view they assume a higher relation, and are therefore differentiated from the objects described in the preceding division which concerned only this earth and the lower heavens. The first similitude, or figurative address (chaps. xxxviii.—xliv.), speaks first of the time when the separation between the righteous and sinners shall be made, and the angels shall dwell in communion with holy men. Then Enoch relates how he was carried to the extremity of heaven and saw the celestial abodes prepared for the righteous, where they bless and magnify the Lord for ever and ever, and the special seat ordained for himself. He beholds the innumerable hosts of angels and sleepless spirits who surround the throne of God, and particularly the four archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel, to whom are assigned special duties. He is shown the secrets of heaven, the weighing of men's actions in the balance, the rejection of sinners from the abodes of the just, the mysteries of thunder and lightning, winds, clouds, dew, hail, mist, sun, and moon. Of these heavenly bodies the regular course and motion are their praise of God for creation and preservation, and this ceaseless praise is their rest. He finds the habitation of Wisdom in heaven, as man on earth would not receive her, but welcomed only iniquity. And lastly, he observes how the stars are called by name and their courses weighed and examined, and recognises in their regularity and obedience a picture of the life of the righteous on earth.

The writer gives sketches of the contents of the various

pseudepigraphical works, discusses their dates and authorship, and endeavours to point out the lessons they teach. Although we do not always agree with him, we must admit that he has succeeded in compiling a work full of valuable and suggestive matter, and picturesque legendary narrative, which, to many readers, will be not only new but of abiding interest.

"Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament."

By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. T and T. Clarke. Edinburgh.

A N "Introduction to The Literature of the Old Testament" is the first book issued by the International Theological Library under the editorship of the Revd. Stewart Salmond, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Aberdeen; and the Revd. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York. This library, as we are informed in the Editor's preface, is designed to cover the whole field of Christian Theology and to form a series of text books for the use of theological students. Each volume, while complete in itself, is to form part of a carefully planned whole, and one of the Editors will prepare a volume of Theological Encyclopædia, giving the history and literature not only of Theology as a whole, but also of each department of it. The Library, which is international, is conducted in the interests of Theology as a Science, and aims at giving impartial statements of the results of Theological Science and of the questions which are still at issue in the different departments. The writer of the book under review, the Revd. S R Driver, D D, takes care to prevent any misconception as to the scope of the work by stating clearly that it is not an introduction to the Theology, or the History, or the study of the Old Testament, but that it refers only to its *Literature*, including an account of the contents and structure of the several books and as much indication of their general character and aim as is permitted by the space at his command, which is limited.

That he has performed his laborious task with marked judgment and skill, will be conceded by all who read the book. Polemical discussions are wisely avoided as far as possible. Although a perfectly uniform treatment of the material has not been aimed at, some of the books, notably the poetic and the prophetic, being more fully discussed than the historical, which are more generally known, the treatment of all shows a thoroughness and scholarship worthy of the greatness of the subject. The distinctive types of style that are to be found in the different parts of the Old Testament, and the expressions characteristic of the style of the various writers, have received special attention,

and the results should prove of very important service to the critical student. Dr. Driver admits that completeness has not been attainable, it being impossible, within the scope of a work of this kind, to mention more than the most salient and important of the grounds for a given conclusion. But it will be generally admitted, we think, that in this matter he has done all, and more than all, that could be expected of him, a fuller statement belonging, as he justly remarks, to a commentary. The book, while naturally founded to a great extent upon the work of previous scholars, embodies the results of a vast deal of independent labour involved in studying the conclusions of critics, in order to judge of the adequacy of the grounds urged in their support. Copious references are given which will enable the reader not only to see to whom the author has been indebted, but to verify the conclusions arrived at. The book is well got up and printed in excellent type, and should prove a very valuable assistance to students of Theology.

The Assemblies of Hariri, Student's Edition of the Arabic Text, with English Notes, grammatical, critical and historical. By Dr. F. STEINGASS, London : Sampson Low, Marston and Company. 1897.

DR. STEINGASS' name is a sufficient guarantee both for the correctness of the text and for the value of the very copious notes which he has supplied. The book, as he explains in the Preface, has been arranged on a progressive plan ; and it is not too much to say that those who follow it and succeed in mastering the difficulties which the text presents, will have acquired more than average facility in the reading of Arabic. This, says the Editor, is "owing to the exceptional character of Hariri's remarkable composition. In a quaint, and frequently highly-amusing, form, sparkling with genuine wit, and, in its best passages, soaring to the loftiest summits of sublime thought and sentiment, it contains an Encyclopædia *in nuce* of the scholarship of his age and (A. D. 1054-1122) people, and is couched in a language saturated with the classical idioms of the Qurân, of Arabic poetry and of the proverbs of the desert Arabs."

The principle adopted by Dr. Steingass is that of gradually dropping the signs of punctuation and vocalisation, till little more than the *sukûn*, and, in certain cases, the *tashadd* and *miaddah*, is left. A vocabulary to the last ten Assemblies, compiled from de Sacy's commentary and various native sources, is supplied, and will be found very useful. "This

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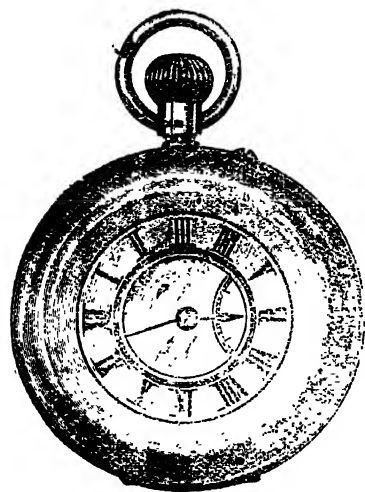
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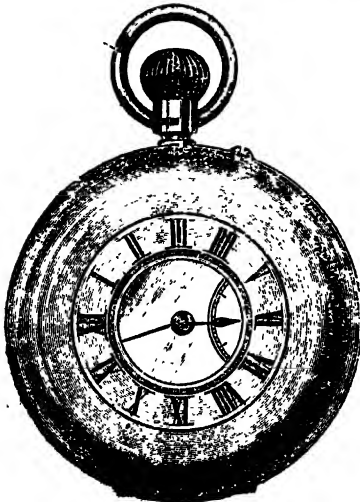
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ART. I.—TRANQUEBAR.

EIGHT miles north of Karikal—French Karikal, soon to be linked to the rest of India by a sleepy railway—stands the old Danish Capital of Tranquebar. The face value of words is often their least important value ; but, true to its Tamil name, Tarangambadi, this “village of the wave” lies in a curvature of the sea-shore. Surrounded by high walls and protected by its citadel, the former Dannesborg, it is a place conspicuous from both land and water. The carriage road enters through a Scæan gate as stately as any in windy Troy, bearing the date 1792 and the monogram of the most Christian King of Denmark. Looking through the archway, the eye ranges down a perspective of bowed and bent old houses neatly laid out in parallel streets running east and west. Beyond is the long deep blue line of the sea, with the sun shining as it can only in the tropics.

But whatever its beauty, its interest is not of the present. Ruin has fallen on it, utter and humiliating ruin. Empty buildings in a progressive state of desolation are all that remain of the great city. A petty Customs Office maintains the semblance of life in the gutted Dannesborg ; but the sandy digue, once so animated, has crumbled to pieces, and the neighbouring tower of King Street serves only as a trigonometrical land mark. Government House has become a post office, and the bare white Square a desert, with stumps of pillars breaking through its surface, like bones protruding through an emaciated body.

Such is Tranquebar. The “white ants” have left it a derelict, abandoned by gods and men—Collectors and their clerks. Slowly the sea has encroached, having swept away the first Church built, as well as the oldest Hindoo Temple. There is a traditional native prophecy which foretold dire disaster to the cities of the shore should ever the sacred river Cauvery be impeded in its flow. Some forty years ago, English Engineers built a dam at the face of the delta : and not all the representa-

tions of Dr. Burnell could persuade the authorities to prevent their action. That mouth of the Cauvery at Cauverypatnam is now a dead sea in a dead city. Tranquebar itself, *dulce decus* of the missionaries, has practically gone to jungle.

To the ordinary sightseer, such a spot may offer little attraction; but to the literary artistic or antiquarian vagabond its very ruins are suggestive. Ideas that might otherwise sleep on for ever are awakened by looking at scenes filled with the dead interest of a Madame Grand or a Ziegenbalg. This fallen city, forgotten by rail roads and travellers, possesses an individuality of its own. Its sleepy charms and sunny silence are those of a small cathedral town. I remember well the first time I visited it. Historic Tranquebar was scarce the fitting description to apply to the neglected little place with the grass-grown streets and tumble-down houses; but the castle and its gateway are very much as they were when the missionaries landed. It was in this same bald and empty quadrangle that Plutschau and Ziegenbalg were kept waiting under the burning sun till it pleased Commandant Hasius to allow them entrance. Their venerable Church of New Jerusalem looks the more beautiful for its date, 1718, inscribed in all the artistic affectation of new whitewash.

From dead dwellings to the dwellings of the dead there is but a short step. This *ville morte* is rich in cemeteries, four lying within the city wall and one at the entering in of the gate. Of these the oldest is that near the south rampart; but all are interesting. These glutted graveyards give standing testimony to the price colonists pay for empire. These Royal Churches have a label in history by which all men may know them. These buried missionaries, botanizers as well as linguists, have passed into the category of what is sacred and immemorial.

Then there is another lure. Tranquebar was the birth-place, on November 21, 1762, of Madame Grand, better known to fame as the Princesse de Talleyrand. There is a tradition which some writers have accepted for a fact, that her family was of Danish origin. It is not easy to ascertain the ground on which it rests. The patronymic was Werlée, and Catherine Werlée's father, Pierre, was a native of Port St. Louis, who rose to be master attendant at Chandernagore. The connection between Fort Saint Orleans and Tranquebar is supported by a tombstone in Zion Churchyard, which registers in Danish the death and the virtues of Jean Jacques Gautier, Governor of Chandernagore and Chevalier of St. Louis, who died in 1795, aged 49. Doubtless the communication was by way of Karikal, and the Werlée family came here more than once. For Chandernagore was never important as a riverside station, and sarcastic chroniclers have remarked that the chief business

of the French in Bengal was to hear mass in their little church near the Factory.

What a quarry of good talk might be started, could we only summon up this elegant ghost from the wreck of her reputed birth place. No trace can now be found of the Baptismal Registers of old Tranquebar. All the political records were restored to Copenhagen, in the same way as the Dutch archives of Fort St. George were lately made over to the authorities at Batavia. Moreover, Pierre Werlée and Laurence Allamay, his second wife, were Catholics, and their daughter was probably christened by the Capucins of the Carnatic, who had their centre at Pondicherry. The existing Liber Baptizatorium in the possession of the Tranquebar fathers does not go back further than the present century.

There seems, however, little doubt that Tranquebar, and not Mauritius, must lay claim to having been the birth-place of beauty. With untiring diligence Dr. Busteed has disentangled the adventures of this Eighteenth Century Rhodopis in his *Echoes of Old Calcutta*. Still a veil of mystery hangs over many of Madame's movements. Some stray hints indicate rather enigmatically a sort of connection with the famous Cytherean Cohort of Napoleonic times; but that and other secrets of the Parisian Police are now lost beyond recall. Quoted when a child as the belle of Calcutta, she was married at 14 to Mr. G. F. Grand, a Bengal Civilian, formerly Captain in the Company's Military Service. From him she separated, after the notorious *crim. con.* action of Grand versus Francis, in which Sir Philip Francis (at the time second in Council) was mulcted in unprecedented damages to the tune of 50,000 rupees sicca; whence that time-honoured story "*Siccas, siccas, brother Impey.*" Then ensued those passages in the lady's career, which have not yet been satisfactorily elucidated. In 1796 we find Paris the place appointed for her second race. Arrested here by mouchards as a conspirator, she enlarged the bounds of human empire so far as to captivate no less a person than Talleyrand himself, who, defroqué as he was, married her publicly in 1802. In that brilliant society, where dressing well was a science and clothes, one of the weighty facts of life, this new beauty, tinged with eastern originality, soon became a reigning power. Many stories of her oddities are current, but most of them seem scarcely justified. The union with Talleyrand was, however, not an appropriate one; and eventually she lived apart from him—first in England and afterwards at Auteuil. As late as 1835 the Princess died, half forgotten and, doubtless, not altogether sorry that the curtain was falling.

Perhaps as Mademoiselle Werlée, sitting in her native village,

close latticed from the brooding heat, she may have been gifted with a clairvoyant sight which enabled her to feast in imagination on the superiority of her future. As to her personal attractiveness we have enduring testimony, in the pictures by Zoffany (now in the Mission College Library, Scram-pore), and by the French painter, Gerard. The latter portrait, numbered 4867 in the Versailles Museum, hangs between Madame Recamier and Talleyrand, and recalls all the imperial glories of her hair and complexion.

It was no small thing for Tranquebar to have produced such a celebrity ; but its death-places are even more famous than its birth-places. Campus Sacer tells its own story. The quiet church-yards have none of the glory attaching to their somewhat anomalous names of Zion and new Jerusalem. But there lie the "broad-brimmed hawkers of holy things," Bible-firm *usque ad effusionem sanguinis*. Haply, like the person let down into the sepulchre of Elisha, we may partake of a greater portion of life by touching a good man's bones. That well-known heading, *Siste viator, lege*, which originally noted the way side locality of Roman burial grounds, may be found even in intramural Tranquebar.

A few dates are, however, a necessary approach to the subject. The history of this honoured fraternity may be put in a very little and should be read with the annals of the nascent colony.

In 1612 a Danish East India Company was founded at Copenhagen. In 1616 their first ship, the Oresund, arrived in India. It is said the captain Roelant Crape, to effect a landing, wrecked his vessel off Tranquebar. He contrived to reach the Naik Raja of Tanjor, from whom he obtained land five miles long and three broad. Here he was joined by Admiral Ove Gedde from Ceylon. Gedde, whose manuscript diary of the events is still in existence, laid the foundations of the Dannesborg, lately used by the English as a County Bridewell. By 1624 the Company were in liquidation and made over their territory and charter to King Christian IV. With better management and increasing prosperity, a time came when those at home began to think of something else besides making money. It was the revival of practical Christianity, proceeding from Pietism, that contributed mainly to the founding of the Eastern Mission.

A certain Jacobus Worm, the Ovid of his times, who was transported to "Trancambar" for libelling the royal family, is styled in an epitaph (1691) the Danish Apostle of India. But very improperly so, for any claim of his to the title stands quite uncorroborated. He was, however, a sufficiently extraordinary character, and merits more than passing attention. The

secret of his attraction is that he was a consummate humourist. Two of his performances read like a page out of Plutarch. Once he was preaching, when a native procession passed outside, and the congregation wished to run out to it. Worm recommended them to stay with him, as they would be in ample time for the ceremony afterwards. His words came true, through the car falling to pieces and remaining there until the sermon was over. On the strength of this miracle, it is stated that after death, Worm's body did not decay! Be that as it may, a still more curious incident is recorded of him before he left Denmark. He had publicly insulted the King on his birthday, and an officer of justice was sent to search his house. Worm gave up the key with indifference, apologising for remaining seated, as he had to prepare a sermon. The Commissary of course found nothing. In preaching next day, Worm chose as his text verses 34 and 35 of Genesis 31, where it says how Rachel *sat* on her father's Teraphim, so that Laban sought them in vain. Such a striking analogy was not lost upon the officer, who immediately left the Church to examine Worm's study chair. In it he found a drawer filled with the condemned writings. The unlucky Pastor was banished in the first ship that sailed for Tranquebar, where he acted for some time as Director of the Church Choir.

With the exception of Worm, who was far more of a poet than a preacher, the only proselytizing activity of the Danes in the seventeenth century is to be found in their custom of taking the crews of Bengal privateers prisoners, baptizing them and selling them for slaves. This edifying traffic Niebuhr defends with the remark that it must be attributed to the century and not to the persons. We shall see from the unpolished ungodliness of Ziegenbalg's contemporaries, that the colony knew no ethics.

Not till the eighteenth century did the Kings of Denmark and Norway set on foot any real movement for christianizing "Turks, Tartareans and other barbarous peoples." In November, 1705, by the command of King Frederick IV, Henry Plütschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg left Copenhagen for the Coromandel coast. An authentic copy of their royal instructions is still extant, by which they bound themselves to hold and handle, in Eastern India, nothing besides the holy doctrine as it is written in God's words and repeated in the Symbolic Books of this realm, agreeing to the Augsburg confession.

It might, perhaps, be supposed that the Dano-Malabarian Mission thus inaugurated was officered by Danes. But this is not so. Its members were German born, natives principally of the North, as their tombstones testify. The person whom

the king had consulted was his court preacher, Lütkens, who, to use his own expression, carried wood with joy when he saw such a fire begin to blaze. He, in his turn, wrote to Halle, to August Hermann Francke, a former colleague of his in Berlin. Halle was at that time celebrated for its University, lately planted by Frederic III, Elector of Brandenburg (der grosse Kurfürst) as a rival to Wittenberg and Leipzig. Francke himself, animated by all the spirit of his teacher, Spener, had just founded, "with seven florins in his hand but strong faith in his heart," the well-known Waisenhaus, or orphanage. This institution, destined to become the pépinière of Pietism, still exists, and its founder has his monument to-day in the streets of Halle. It was from the ranks of his seminary that the two young magisters came forth for service in the east. Seventy years the Franckes, both father and son, kept up their Asiatic connection, and Halle has always remained the spiritual chaperon of Tranquebar. The orphans' house staff contributed to it quite a number of excellent workers, who were controlled by the royal Missions Collegium at Copenhagen, and partly paid from the revenues of Danish Post Offices. Newly awakened zeal in the cause extended even to the establishment of a special Institutum Judaicum for the conversion of Israel. The great Leibnitz himself became an enthusiast and incorporated evangelistic ideas in the constitution of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. Lutherans had the honour of first sending the doctrines of Protestantism to the West Indies as well as to the East.

On the 9th July, 1706, a day still commemorated, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau landed in Tranquebar. "*Contigimus portum quo mihi cursus erat*," writes Ziegenbalg, who had chewed the cud of classic as well as religious fancies on the voyage. It was really but a beginning of troubles. The new comers found themselves absolutely ignored by the Danish community and had to wait till evening, first outside the gates and then in the market-place, till an old serjeant dared secure them a lodging. Although they could show the King's hand and seal, their countrymen received them most coldly, and misfortunes still greater were in store. Of the two ships that sailed out bringing their salaries one was wrecked; the other arrived safely, but, in landing cargo, all the rixdollars were sunk to the bottom by order of the Commandant and never seen again. The missionaries read the Acts of the Apostles to revive their drooping spirits; but, as Hasius and his Privy Council were pleased to remark, Heaven was very high above their heads and Copenhagen very far off. On some excuse, Ziegenbalg was thrown into prison. Nothing daunted, he proceeded to consecrate his cell in the Dannesborg with hymns

and prayers. One night he was awakened by the guard offering him a pencil and a black book of white paper. The result was a quarto thesis of 717 pages on the Ministry, which lies unprinted at Halle.

Imprisonment lasted four months, but it could not shake the friendly spirit of the inoffensive Ziegenbalg, who went to extremes in love and wished his persecutors a happy New Year from prison. These trials eventually turned to his advantage and became, as he says, bells ringing far and wide throughout Europe to excite compassion. Even the Commandant found it best to make peace, and in 1714 a regular deed of amnesty was exchanged to forget and forgive 'all those quarrels which have taken place between us by any name whatsoever.'

Perhaps, as officials, the Council may have had some genuine cause of complaint. The Missionary Bövingh who came out in 1711, returned to Europe much discontented. His letters to a friend at Holstein, which were surreptitiously published, begin by advising every true Israelite not to join any undertaking with people from Halle. Hasius had already pronounced the missionaries troublesome enough to consume a whole kingdom, and Bövingh complained that only the poorest and most miserable classes became converts—slaves, papists and shilling christians, who kept to the congregation just so long as money was distributed weekly. Pecuniary disputes were, however, at the bottom of Bövingh's bitterness; witness the oft-repeated remark that the Mission money might be called a Hellish, instead of a Hallish, chest, as it proved a regular apple of discord.

Overdrawn and malicious though they were, these reports on missionary morality excited wide-spread comment, both in Denmark and Germany. Pamphlet answered pamphlet, and the sharpest invectives were exchanged in an "*Apologia epistolis Bövingianis opposita*." Those who put the Halle school in the pillory were reminded of the fate of Asahel, who pursued Abner and would not be warned to leave him, and was in consequence struck through with Abner's spear. How far personalities could be carried, may be judged from the description given of Ziegenbalg as a Pietist and impious idiot, behaving in Tranquebar more like an innkeeper and merchant than a pastor. In a disputation at Wittenberg; *de Pseudo-Apostolis*, he was publicly accused of trumpeting forth his fictitious blessed kingdom. The whole controversy is of a piece with the theological acrimonies of the time.

But the Pietist in India needed no one to tell him the thoughts of his own heart. As a plain man sprung from the body of the people, he could suffer fools gladly. His reward

came in the esteem of the native community, not only in Danish territory but outside. Like other early gossellers, he knew the vernaculars thoroughly and soon secured a large congregation. His correspondence with cultivated Indians, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, was remarkable. These letters and colloquies were published, with a dedication to the Crown Prince, and their lively interest presents a marked contrast to the flippancy of Voltaire's fancy dialogues *entre Brahme et Jesuite*. One correspondent, scandalised by the misconduct of Europeans, wrote to say that the white foreigners must be descended from the giants, because they knew no difference between good and evil. Everywhere he found sects among Christians, and saw the one party persecuting the other. No distinctions of caste and cleanliness were observed; they drank strong drinks indiscriminately and ate great living animals larger than a man, which cried out when their life was taken from them. Seeing the actions of the Danish congregation after leaving Church, how could one doubt that the lessons they learned were to drink, gamble and ill-treat the blacks? Ziegenbalg found no little difficulty in meeting such arguments drawn from life. The fact seems to be that he had a great intellectual struggle to contend with from opponents living under a purely native government, with nothing to fear from the European. One quotation will serve to show how aptly he could cope with his controversors. A Mahomedan had put the question: "You Christians believe in three Gods, we in one? Now who is most wide of the mark?" On receiving the answer that they distinguished, not three Gods, but three persons in one Divine Being, he demanded proof. Like Socrates when opposed by Aristodemus, Ziegenbalg gave an illustration from nature: "We see but one sun in heaven, but yet are aware of three things in it, the body of the sun, the lustre thrown out, and the warmth from the lustre. These three are so interconnected that we cannot have the one without the other. Yet no one would say that the sun is three-fold, but all are agreed that there is but one sun."

From such utterances the mind and feelings of the man may be distilled. As the Father of Protestant Missions in India, it is worth while to have dwelt on the particulars of his work. His name, though little known among Englishmen to-day, was once received with enthusiasm in London. He had audiences of our King George and Royal Family in 1716, and preached many times in the Chapels Royal and Savoy. The S. P. C. K. gave him a congratulatory address in Latin, to which he returned a reply in Tamil. Encouraging letters were written to him by Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury; and one communication, received in India after Ziegenbalg's own

death, bears the following testimony to his apostolic usefulness : " I consider that your lot is far higher than all church-dignities. Let others be prelates, patriarchs, and popes ; let them be adorned with purple and scarlet, let them desire bowings and genuflexions. You have won a greater honour than all these and a far more magnificent recompense shall be given you."

This worthy man died on 23rd February, 1719, at the early age of 35. As he was the first to preach in New Jerusalem Church, so he was the first to be buried there. He lies on the right hand of the altar, opposite his colleague Gründler. Their places are marked by thin copper plates let into the wall, with Latin inscriptions from the pen of Schultze. The Latinity is not remarkable, except for the use of the ante-classical word "denatus," which is found all over Tranquebar. An infant son of Ziegenbalg's sleeps in the graveyard outside, and the tomb is the oldest now in the town. His eldest son rose to be Director of the Danish Factory at Frederiksnagor, the modern Serampore.

After Ziegenbalg's death, his mantle fell upon Gründler, a woolcarder by origin, who survived him only for one year and was succeeded by Schultze, the founder of the Protestant Mission at Madras. Plutschau, it may be mentioned, had returned to Europe, in 1711, and never came out again. Schultze's fame rests principally on his continuation to Ziegenbalg's Tamil translation of the Bible. He was also a hymnologist and taught the school children to sing hymns in the open fields, a practice probably imitated from the contagious phenomenon of the Singing and Praying children of Silesia. Proofs of his gigantic industry can be seen in the Oriental library at Halle ; but he erred sadly in holding Hindustani to be of the same linguistic stock as Tamil and Telugu ! As head of the mission, he was never able to agree with his colleagues, and he withdrew to Madras, where he entered the service of the English Society. His disconnection was, however, counteracted by the spread of Lutheranism inland. Communications were opened up with the princes of Tanjore, and this extension prepared the way for the activity of Schwarz (1762).

Schwarz's life and labours are, however, more intimately bound up with Tanjore and Trichinopoly than with Tranquebar, and his name is associated not less with the political history of the time than with the ministry. A sample of this influence may be seen in the respect shown him by Hyder Ali, who issued general orders to his armies to allow Schwarz to proceed wherever he wished. Only one noticeable event is recorded of him during his apprenticeship at Tranquebar ; and that was the arrival of an intended wife from Copenhagen. Schwarz

really knew nothing of the lady, whom he repudiated in an energetic remonstrance, ending with the forcible words: "May the God of peace tread down Satan the disturber under our feet." After this misadventure, it is not surprising to hear that Schwarz never married.

The mission had its palmiest days about 1740. In the last quarter of the century, as Rationalism began to prevail in the Lutheran Churches at home, Tranquebar lost its spiritual power and, thereby, its influence. The connection with the orphans' house was dissolved, and the old Halle harvest fell into the garners of Anglicans. Fabricius, who celebrated the marriage of Clive with Margaret Maskelyne, was one of those who removed to Madras. Kiernander of Calcutta is another eminent name, and it is interesting to notice that Colonel and Mrs. Clive stood sponsors to his eldest son.

To return, however, to Tranquebar. In consequence of the war with Europe, the parent mission became involved in pecuniary difficulties, as it could not communicate directly with Denmark, and, though it was liberally helped by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, a long eclipse followed. The day of small things came when the moral character of its workers deteriorated. Herr Bosse threw his contemporaries into disrepute by his drunkenness and "incessant reading of story books at night." Fructenicht (1801), who is described as a monster of a missionary, was found standing in bed in his priest's robes, with a knife in one hand and a bottle in the other. Rumours reached Europe that Tranquebar Christians acted worse than heathens. It was no defence to this to answer that much that was Egyptian clung to the children of Israel in the wilderness. When the hundredth anniversary came round in 1806, the desponding pastors felt a presentiment that the end was near. In that year Dr. Claudius Buchanan saw, in an apartment of Ziegenbalg's house, the register of the old church, in which the name of Mudaliappa, the first convert, was inscribed, and he also mentions that he found at Tanjore some Syriac tracts translated by Schwarz from the German. Truly the proficiency attained by these worthy men in the eastern languages was wonderful: even though they did not attempt, like the Serampore Baptists, to master Chinese—hitherto the opprobrium of linguists.

Now came the occupation of Tranquebar by the English, from 1808 to 1815: and the Protestant Mission, the nursing mother of all others, sank to be an institution in one place only. Even in its decadence, it excited the admiration of English Bishops and other distinguished visitors coming from Bengal to Madras. Nor was it by mere accident that William Carey sailed to India in a Danish ship and found a sphere for his activities in a Danish Colony.

To this sad period belong the scientific transactions of the missionaries. As botanists, König and Rottler made themselves felt even in Europe. Christopher John, the educator, was equally famous in conchology, and Klein's natural history collections brought him wide celebrity. Eight different learned Societies voluntarily elected the seniors of the mission as members and attracted to Tranquebar a decree of attention which it otherwise would never have commanded at this juncture.

In 1845 Tranquebar was purchased by the British Government, and in 1847 its churches and school buildings were formally handed over to Dresden Lutherans, now working under the title of the Leipzig Society. As a political town, the place never had been of significant importance, and it does not seem to have been even capable of defending itself. Twice it brought over Haidar Ali, and three times it surrendered to the English without a struggle. But all history proves how much there is in a name : and from its missionary association it perhaps received more honour than it deserves.

Years have now rolled away, and it remains but a bazaar of tombs. Each century has added its quota, so that the Book of the Dead stands written in many languages—Armenian, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Latin, Portuguese and Swedish. Go into Jerusalem's Kierke, and you will see over the doorway a tablet telling how Hasius' successor, Herr Commandant Christen Brun, laid "den förste steen. Anno 1717, Febr. D=9." Inside the church the altar screen bears strange masonic devices in its lower corners, and a text from St. John in Portuguese. "De tal maneira amou Deus ao mundo, que deu a seu Filho unigenito, para que todo aquelle que n'elle crê, não pereça, mas tenha a vida eterna." Upon the communion table are two silver candlesticks inscribed "Anna Christian Hansen Pauch. 1688. Anna Maria Erichs Dotter." Even this pulpit before us is the very one from which Ziegenbalg preached (unduly long sermons in a periwig were the fashion of the time) ; these state chairs, built apparently for giants, were made by the Moravian brethren ; this stone floor is where generations of "black-brown Malabarians" have squatted. In the railed precinct outside, Mr. Robert Sloper, one of the council of Fort Saint David, slumbers since 1762. Sixteen of the old Lutheran Missionaries lie as his neighbours : Kistenmacher (1722), Richtsteig (1735), Andreas Worm (1735, pupil of Budacus of Jena), Pressier (1738), Obuch (1745), Dal (1747), Wiederbrock (1767), Müller (1771), Leidemann (1774), Maderup (1776), Zeglin (1780), J. B. Kohlhoff (1790), Klein (1790), König (1795), John (1813), Cümmerer (1837). "Aqui descancao," over the monument of Danish Maderup, proclaims

the interesting circumstance that Portuguese was the lingua franca of the period and the only medium of communication between European and Indian. The mission, as a matter of fact, had three congregations; the Portuguese, the Tamilian of the town and the Tamilian of the country. Every year an annual report, in one quarto sheet, was printed, on October 5th, and a copy transmitted direct to the King of Denmark and each branch of the royal family. Detailed accounts were also published from Halle, and an abridgment of these appeared when Niekamp put forth his "*Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali, Halæ 1747.*" Later sources of information may be gathered from Lacroze, Fenger, Germann and, lastly, Graul, the well-known traveller and orientalist, who was Director of the mission for some time.

It is a remarkable fact that not a single Brahmin conversion is recorded anywhere in its history. Jesuits of the type of Nobili, are the only missionaries who have laboured with success among the twice-born caste. Writing to Walther of Tranquebar in 1728, ex civitate Tangiaurensi, Beschi takes occasion to warn him thus: "*addo amico consilium; ne plurimum confidas hominibus ex infima Parrearum tribu.*"

We have already visited Jerusalem's Kierke. On the opposite side of King Street lies the English church, or Zion, formerly reserved for the official Danish community, as opposed to Ziegenbalg's blackamoors. The tombs here and in the larger town cemetery are, as Aristotle would say, xenic. Let me instance one stone built into the outer wall, to the memory of a dead Dutchman, Gysbertus Zieglaar (1783), who served as captain and commandant in the neighbouring factory of Negapatam. Zion spire, which is in the Danish style, also demands some notice: and in the vestry hangs an extraordinary painting of the Last Supper, coloured in relief upon wood, with the motto, "*tu vis esse meus per cenam Christe sacram; fac ut in æternum sim maneamque tuus.*" The communicants' beards and faces remind one of the engravings of Albert Dürer.

Other relics of the past, too numerous to mention, linger on in this interesting city. "Skue" writ large over the monuments of Danish magnificoes proclaims its *circumspicite*. In one of the disused fort chambers can be seen the date 1677, and the gaudily painted arms of Christian the Fifth. Even the citadel still sports the archial escutcheon of the old Asiatiske Handel, with the figure of an elephant underneath. The little Goa church, now opened but once a year, possesses a side chapel marked Santa Anna, 1717, and pavement graves of 1779. Visitors may make a sentimental journey to the house of Thandachia Pillai, the Danes' old agent, upon whose portrait is written in Dansk "*anno 1798 den 3 October Som bleo Tegnet af Cuppannen*

fra Tanjour." Around the room hang old-fashioned pictures of Napoleon's victories, while downstairs is a ponderous Moravian cupboard. Another like it may be found in the Collectorate office at Tanjore. But fame was not the object of these pious mechanics. Most of them lie dead across the sea and salt water in their attempt to colonise the Frederic's islands of Nicobar.

All is over. For a chapter of sights and scenes interesting to the mind, Tranquebar outdoes many of the fallen cities of the East. Even a spice of the devil appears in its piece of history about Madame Grand. But the place is now doomed to destruction, and those subjects I have disinterred can only be restored for the purposes of historical anatomy. India's modern enterprise sees nothing in Tranquebar, and she who was called the Queen of the Coromandel Coast, will soon be as forgotten as Onore and Anjengo.

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ART. II.—THE OLDEST PAPER IN INDIA: THE BOMBAY SAMACHAR.

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE NATIVE PRESS.

THE majority of Native Papers are short-lived, coming into existence and dropping out of it in a few years, or even a few months. Every year the Reporter of the Native Press notices ten, or even sometimes twenty, papers closing their short career unwept, unsung. In the Bombay Presidency alone no fewer than twenty-four newspapers ceased to exist in 1896; while, curiously enough, exactly the same number were started, to meet very likely the same fate in a short time, for most, if not all, of these "late lamented" papers had had a very short life. The statistical returns from other Provinces tell a similar tale of mushroom growth and speedy decay. Of the 181 native newspapers in the Western Presidency, 35 are 20 years old and under, only 13 are 30, and 9 are 40, while only three are above 50, one being 59, another 65, and the third 75 years old.

This last is the oldest paper not only among native, but among all Indian, papers in the whole of India. A paper that has lived for three-quarters of a century under native management deserves to have its history traced. Nor is length of years the only claim of this paper, which is called the *Bombay Samachar*, to honourable mention. It is also the foremost native paper in all respects in Western India, and has only one or two rivals in point of influence and weight in Bengal.

The beginning of Indian journalism dates from the year 1780, on the 29th January of which appeared the first number of the first newspaper in India, the well-known, but not famous, *Bengal Gazette*, "a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none," published by the notorious Hickey, by whose name it is now chiefly remembered.* This paper had a career of two years, during which it succeeded in annoying and slandering nearly every one in high places, besides many in low ones; and the publisher got many a beating and threat of assassination for his pains, and was finally cast into jail, where both he and his paper finally disappear out of sight, leaving not a wrack behind except their bad name. Many English journals followed in the wake of this pioneer, though none fortunately imitated its grossness and obscenity; but they were all only a little longer-lived than Hickey's. From a Parliamentary Return of 1830, we find

* Busted. *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 2nd ed., pp. 171 seq.

that in 1814 there was only one paper in Bengal, the *Calcutta Government Gazette*. But during the next six years there sprang up three papers, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, the *India Gazette*, and the *Calcutta Journal*, the first of which lived for a long time, into our days, and the last became famous owing to its connection with that free lance, Silk Buckingham.*

Bombay was more enterprising in this matter, and we find the first English paper coming into existence there as early as 1790, and the second paper a year later, in 1791. Both these papers were respectable and had long careers. The first, the *Gazette*, came to an end in July 1842, after a life of 53 years, and is not to be confounded with the existing *Bombay Gazette*, which grew out of the *Gentleman's Gazette* and was so called in 1850. The second paper was called the *Courier*, and was for a long time the organ of the Government. This paper also lived for a long time, till, in 1860, it merged into the *Bombay Times*, which had been started in 1838.

Now, to turn to the native papers, we find that Bengal has the honour of having started the first newspaper in a vernacular of India. This was the *Samachar Durpan*, started by the famous Serampore missionaries and edited by the renowned divine, J. Marshman. This paper existed for 21 years; but, strictly speaking, it cannot be called a "native" paper, as it was conducted by Europeans. The Rev. J. Long, in his "Catalogue of Bengali Newspapers and Periodicals," published by the Bengal Government in 1855, mentions an earlier paper called the *Bengal Gazette*, started in 1816 by one Gangadhar Buttacharjea, which is stated to have lasted for only one year. But nothing can now be ascertained regarding this paper, so far as the present writer can discover. The second paper was the *Sunghad Kaumudi*, which was edited by Babu Tarachand Dutt and Babu Bhubani Charan Bundopadhia, and commenced in December, 1821.†

This paper may be called the first real native paper in India, as it was, unlike the *Samachar Durpan*, conducted by native editors. Its prospectus will be found interesting, and we quote it here.

"Prospectus of a Bengali Weekly Newspaper to be conducted by natives. Printed and circulated in Bengali and English.

"It having been particularly suggested and recommended

* Montgomery Martin, *History of the British Colonies*, Vol. I., p. 253.

† Rev. J. Long gives 1819 as the year of its birth. *Catalogue of Bengali Newspapers, etc., in Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XXII, 1855, p. 145. But the *Asiatic Journal* gives December 4, 1821 as the date of its first number, which contains the editors' "Address to the Bengal Public" quoted there, Vol. XIV 1822, p. 136.

to us by the friends of knowledge, improvement and literature to establish an entertaining and instructive Bengali weekly newspaper, we, in conformity with their very acceptable and meritorious suggestions, have gladly undertaken the duty of publishing the proposed newspaper to be denominated 'Sungbaud Cowmuddy,' or 'The Moon of Intelligence,' and respectfully beg leave to enumerate the subjects which will be treated of in the said publication, *viz.* :—

"Religious, moral, and political matters ; domestic occurrences ; foreign as well as local intelligence, including original communications on various hitherto unpublished interesting local topics, etc., will be published in the *Sungbaud Cowmuddy* on every Tuesday morning.

"To enable us to defray the expenses which will necessarily be attendant on an undertaking of this nature, we humbly solicit the support and patronage of all who feel themselves interested in the intellectual and moral improvement of our countrymen, and confidently hope that they will, with their usual liberality and munificence, condescend to gratify our most anxious wishes, by contributing to our paper a monthly subscription of two rupees,* in acknowledgment of which act of their benignity and encouragement, we pledge ourselves to make use of our utmost efforts and exertions to render our paper as useful, instructive, and entertaining as it can possibly be."†

The "*Sungbad Kaumudi*" had a long life of over thirty years, and came to a close about 1852, after a very useful career. It was supported by that munificent and liberal-minded Bengali philanthropist and reformer, Dwarkanath Tagore, and was a powerful instrument in the cause of social and religious reform in Bengal. Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and his enlightened views were greatly helped by their advocacy in this paper. It gave great offence to the old orthodox party, who started a rival paper of their own.

Seven months after the *Sungbad* was started, Bombay made her *debut* in native journalism with the *Bombay Samachar*. Unlike the *Sungbad* and the *Samachar Durpan*, it exists to the present day in the most thriving condition. It has, indeed, outlived all its contemporaries, Native and English, and to-day occupies the venerable position of the oldest newspaper in India, being in its 76th year. Its first number appeared on July 1st, 1822, and the paper continued to appear every week regularly till 1832, when the experiment was tried of making it a daily. During the whole of that

* Rev. J. Long erroneously gives one rupee as the monthly price. The price must have been lowered later on.

† *Calcutta Journal*, *apud Asiatic Journal* Vol. XIV.

year, 1832, the *Samachar* appeared every day, the first daily native paper, we believe, in India. But the next year it discontinued this, as the resources of those days were not equal to the publication of a daily sheet. The editor, in a note, requested his readers to send him at once to his office any information they came to possess, so that he might be able to print it in the next day's issue, *naively* adding that the public need not trouble itself about what might, or might not, be important and worth printing, but should send anything it got, leaving it to the editor to judge of its fitness to appear in print. But little response was made to this invitation. The people, too, were not at that time anxious to know every day what was going on in the world. So the *Samachar* compromised the matter by appearing as a bi-weekly, on Sundays and Thursdays. This arrangement continued for more than twenty years, till it became a daily in 1855, and as a daily it has continued ever since.

We have before us the very first number of this paper, bound with the issues of its first six months into a volume. This volume is now excessively rare; indeed, only one other copy of it is now extant anywhere. It consists of three small quarto sheets, ten inches by eight, and a supplement of another half sheet, in all making fourteen pages of printed matter. A brief description of the contents of this first issue will give our readers an idea of what an Indian journal was in those days. The first sheet consists of advertisements, two of these being about things lost, and one about the sale of some property, all relating to Parsis. Then follows what may be called an article on "Ourselves," of which more presently. Then there are four columns of short paragraphs about Government and Supreme Court appointments and changes, and powers of attorney taken from the Court; about the arrival and departure of ships and of Europeans from Bombay; and a list of European deaths, as well as of ships loading in the harbour. Six columns are given to Calcutta news taken from the *India Gazette* and the *Calcutta Chronicle*; one column to Madras news from the *Government Gazette* of that city; two columns to London news taken, curiously, also from the last-mentioned paper; whilst a short paragraph of ten lines is devoted to news from Canton in China, giving the prices of opium. Of local Bombay news there is very little, except the short paragraphs about appointments noted above. In the later numbers Bombay has a pretty fair share of space devoted to its local news; but still we learn little of what was going on in Bombay in those days from these columns. This indifference to local news was, indeed, a feature of all Bombay papers of those days, English and native. We have turned over the files of the

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old *Bombay Gazette* and *Courier* during the tens, twenties and even thirties of this century in vain for local news. They were made up chiefly of extracts from the European papers and the papers of Bengal and the Upper Provinces. We learn more of purely English affairs, of Parliament, the Ministry, European wars and diplomacy, from very old Bombay papers, than of what must have been happening under their eyes in the city and its Mofussil. The eminent Anglo-Indian journalist, Stocqueler, gives, in his entertaining *Memoirs*, an account of journalistic Bombay—if such a phrase can be used about that time—as he found it on his arrival in 1822, the year, too, in which the *Samachar* began its existence. “There were but two papers,” says he, “extant at the time, and very comical things they were,—the *Bombay Courier* and the *Gazette*, composed almost entirely of selections from English papers, and an occasional law report. The pen of the editor seldom found nobler occupation than the record of a ball and supper, or a laudatory notice of an amateur performance. Once only did an editor* venture to insert an article personally offensive to the Recorder, Sir Edward West; and he paid the bitter penalty of his subserviency to a clique of discontented barristers . . . The Government deprived Mr. Fair of his license and he was “deported.”†

But to return to the first number of the *Samachar*. The most interesting part of it is that which contains a long article on “the liberty of the Press,” extending to eight columns, and continued and concluded in six more in the second number. This is said to be taken from an English work, but the writer seems to have derived his facts alone from such a source, and gives his own views in very plain and thoughtful language. In it he traces the former state of oppression and personal Government in England, under which Englishmen had very little liberty, and alludes to the Star Chamber and the persecution of the popular party by the Stuarts; and, after noticing the beneficial effects of the Revolution of 1688 on the liberties of the English people, he proceeds to explain the highly salutary work of a free press in disseminating news as well as knowledge and sound opinion. Touching on the fears of some that the press may be perverted to evil uses, the writer informs his readers that the press, though free from annoying and vexatious laws, is yet subject to the law of the land, which can punish any writer disseminating false news or mischievous views. He winds up with the remark that a tyrannical Government is incompatible with a free press and has always yielded to it and disappeared, and that England is so

* Mr. Fair of the *Bombay Gazette*.

† *Memoirs of a Journalist* p. 49, Bombay 1873.

great because it is free, and "its rule shall be powerful and shall last for ever because it gives the right of free speech within due bounds." "The Press is also called the Law of the World," is the last sentence of this article, at the end of which Cowper's well-known lines on the Press are quoted in translation. Such views and such knowledge may well seem remarkable in a native of India writing in 1822, and in the very first newspaper published in the Western Presidency. The editor at any rate seems to have had a very proper notion of his duties and a due sense of the heavy responsibility he was undertaking in starting such a novel thing as a newspaper. And the way in which he conducted the paper for years afterwards was highly creditable. There was little of criticism, in those early years, of the acts of the Government, and even that little was mild and very sober.

Even more remarkable than this article on the liberty of the press is the article on "Ourselves," a kind of programme and prospectus. This is a highly interesting document, both in itself and as showing the idea with which a newspaper was first started by a native. We shall, therefore, give it here entire, translated from the original Gujarati, one of the two chief languages of the Bombay Presidency in which the paper appeared. The style of the original is natural and direct, and free from that involvement to which this Gujarati has been subjected by later Hindu writers of Gujarat. The editor, it will be seen, alludes at the end particularly to the language and style of his paper, and promises to make them such as can easily be understood by his readers, Hindus as well as Parsis. He fulfilled his promise as long as he had charge of his paper, and when he gave over charge to his successor in 1832, he emphasises this point particularly in his parting advice. The *Samachar* has always been conducted by Parsis. But its language has never been the slipshod, highly Persianised Gujarati of the Parsis, or the jaw-breaking and affected Sanskrit-Gujarati of some pompous Hindu writers of Surat and Ahmedabad. The present editor of the paper deserves great credit for the way in which he has developed an entirely new style of Gujarati, free as well from affectation and involvement, on the one hand, as, on the other, from the childishness and extreme levity of some Parsi writers and papers.

The following is the editorial address of the first native paper in Western India—from the *Bombay Samachar*, No. 1, July 1st, 1822, "Be it known that in India before the establishment of British rule there have been great Hindu kings and mighty Mogul monarchs and governors. During their rule there have been eminent Sanskritists, Persian and Arabic scholars, as well as other *savants* deeply versed in the then known great sciences ;

and numerous are the books, and many are the instructive tales compiled and told by those great scholars and *savants*, which are still extant, and which are being seen and read by us now. But after the institution of British rule in India, when the efficiency and wisdom, science, art, and knowledge, and justice and splendour of the British manifested themselves, and we began to understand a little what real popular happiness was, it became clear to us that the magnificent brilliancy of their learning and knowledge has eclipsed those great learned Indians of former times. The old administration was as the evening twilight, whereas British rule and every achievement connected with it shine and blaze like the sun. Before the predominance of the British in India, when either the Hindus or Mahomedans were at the helm of Indian Government, all State affairs political, military, literary, judicial and mercantile, were transacted in secret and managed under the rose, thus virtually precluding the people at large from knowing how they were governed and what happened about them. But in the present British administration all matters touching either the rulers or the ruled are allowed to be published daily in newspapers for the benefit of the subjects. In former times no one dared even to dream of such a liberty. British authors themselves openly acknowledge in several books that the affairs of their countrymen were formerly administered with the same arbitrary secretiveness, and that in times gone by they were also ignorant and foolish ; but that by dint of assiduous efforts they gradually improved, and that through the agency of the printing machine the publication of hundreds of thousands of copies of the same valuable books having been facilitated, science and art and national polity came within the range of public knowledge. Seeing that the British have laboriously devoted their days and nights to the study of science, and that they still continue to do so even with a greater ardour and zeal than before, there is no wonder that the whole world resounds with their fair fame ; and it is now reasonably believed that their invention of the printing press will stand us in good stead too. Be it known that in every territory under the British flag newspapers printed in the English language have become a permanent institution by means whereof all kinds of information and communication are daily published and circulated. By reason of our total ignorance of some of the subjects dealt with therein a previous knowledge of their source and origin is essential to the right understanding of them. With a view, therefore, to secure in the near future for our readers an easy comprehension of some such topics as our people are at present generally ignorant of, we purpose from the very beginning to trace their spring and fountain. Such a

preliminary elucidation of current topics will gradually enable our readers to comprehend in a word what otherwise it may be necessary to convey to them in a page. In our first issue, therefore, we give further on the reflections of a learned Englishman on the consequences and influence of the liberty of the press.

"Secondly, we recommend our readers to refrain from consigning to the waste paper basket, or from otherwise destroying, the copies of this newspaper after reading them. Our subscribers will do well to preserve and file the issues of this paper and to have them bound in a volume at the end of every year, because such volumes will in future be useful to themselves and more so to posterity.

"Thirdly, it is known to all that in India the first language that was in common use was Sanskrit and that from it branched out several dialects, Gujarati being one of them. In this Gujarati language, during the predominance of the Mogul power in India, a great many Persian and Arabic words were naturally added. Similarly, now that the British are the acknowledged rulers of the country, the language in question has been enriched with an admixture of English words. These Persian, Arabic, and English words which are now generally used by the Parsis in common parlance, are not so well understood by the Hindus. Whereas, the Sanskrit and Prakrit element which prevails in the Gujarati used by the Hindus is all but unintelligible to the Parsis. In Gujarati there is a remarkable absence of scientific words, and if a few such words do exist in the language, on account of their Sanskrit origin, they are incomprehensible to most people. We purpose, consequently, to use such Gujarati in our columns as may be equally intelligible both to Parsis and Hindus. Of course, we could have, if we had chosen, either used pure unmixd Gujarati, or Gujarati having an admixture of Persian, Arabic, and English words; but in either case, as we think we have sufficiently indicated above, at least one section of the Gujarati-speaking people would have found it rather difficult to understand our language clearly."

It will have been seen that the editor knew that he had to train up his audience to a knowledge of current events and their past history, as well as to an appreciation of the true value of newspapers. The promise which he made in this first number, that he would enlighten his readers on current matters by giving them such information as would enable them to follow them easily, he speedily fulfilled by commencing after a few months a series of articles giving a political, geographical, historical, and statistical account of the various provinces of India, in a special supplement given with each number. These

articles extended into the next year, and must, in those days, when there were no books in the vernaculars on such a subject, have given great instruction and edification to the natives. The account seems to have been chiefly taken from the work of Rennell, then the standard one on the subject of geography and topography, and that of Hamilton. Correspondence was also invited, and many interesting subjects began to be discussed. Naturally enough, astrology, a subject in which natives are deeply interested, is one of the earliest to be taken up, and we find letters from several Shastris and others appearing in various numbers. Poetical and philosophical subjects were also occasionally taken up and treated in an intelligent manner. But the subject most alluded to was commercial information, which soon became the leading feature of this paper; and throughout its entire career the *Samachar* has been distinguished for this department and familiarly called the "merchants' paper."

It may be said that the *Bombay Samachar*, as well as the *Sungbad Kauhudi*, owed its origin to the liberal attitude of the Marquis of Hastings towards the press, which was, under him, practically, though not nominally, free. That great and liberal-minded statesman had made known his views on the freedom of the press in a remarkable speech at Madras, and all journalists felt themselves quite at ease in their calling. From the prospectus of the *Samachar* given above, it will be seen that the natives of Western India knew what a free press meant and its immense benefits. The *Sungbad* of Calcutta openly alludes, in its first "Address to the Public," to the views and policy of the enlightened Governor-General, who was, however, then on the point of retiring and giving over the reins into the temporary hands of a very narrow-minded man, who renewed, during his short régime, the old persecution of the press in its worst form, and got entangled in the long struggle with Silk Buckingham. While asking its well-wishers to aid it by contributing to its columns, it relieves them from any fear of consequences. "Nothing," it says, "need be apprehended on this subject, when the state of the press of India is considered; that it was *hitherto shackled*, and that owing to the liberal and comprehensive mind of our present enlightened and magnanimous ruler, the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, those shackles have been removed, and the press declared free." And it concludes with these significant words: "Although the paper is conducted by us, and may consequently be considered our property, yet *virtually* it is the 'Paper of the Public,' since in it they can at all times have inserted anything that *tends to the public good* and by a respectful expression of their grievances be enabled to get

them redressed, if our countrymen have not already been able to effect that desirable object, by publishing them in English."

There were people then who did not like such ideas getting into the heads of natives, and the *Asiatic Journal* raised a warning voice. It considered some passages in this address "very objectionable," and commented on it in a very caustic manner. "A journal published in the language of the natives, conducted by natives, designed for the perusal of the native Indians, and of them almost exclusively, is set on foot, avowedly, if Mr. Buckingham is to be credited, for the purpose of fomenting their accidental discontents, of opening their eyes to the defects of their rulers, of encouraging and giving utterance, not to their complaints, but to their remonstrances. 'To admonish governors of their duties, to warn them fearlessly of their faults, to tell disagreeable truths;' these are the advantages enumerated by Mr. Buckingham, and the duties he suggests as peculiarly belonging to the Free Press of India!"* A few months later it notices with some alarm that the *Sunghad Kaumudi* was followed by four other papers in the native languages—the *Samachar Chundrica*, the *Bombay Samachar*, the *Mirat-eol Akhbar* and the *Fam-i-Fahan Nama*; and repeats its caution: "It is not the less necessary to watch the progress of that spirit of discontent and political animosity which certain busy-bodies have latterly introduced from the Western hemisphere and are so eagerly endeavouring to instil into the minds of our Indian subjects."†

Sir John Malcolm, too, a genuine well-wisher of the natives, felt very uneasy about the native press. In fact, he was against the freedom of both English and native sections of the Indian press. In his *Government of India*, which is mainly a record of his rule in Bombay from 1827 to 1830, he complains that, "so far as I can judge, Government has little or no check over the native press." Observing that native editors "are well acquainted with their freedom," he gives a curious instance of this: "I desired to prevent the continued publication in a native paper of the disputes between Government and the Supreme Court, and particularly translations into the native languages of some charges from the Bench which I thought were calculated to lower Government in the eyes of the native subjects. I requested the Persian interpreter to see the editor and speak to him. He did: the man was very civil, but plainly stated that the articles to which I objected increased the sale of his paper; that his only object of inserting them was pecuniary profit; and if Government gave him as much or a little more than he gained, that they should not be inserted!"‡

* *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XIV, 1822, pp. 137, 139.

† *Ibid*, p. 575.

‡ *Government of India*, 1833, pp. 137-8.

Malcolm's chief objection to the native press now appears a very fanciful one and was completely refuted by subsequent history. "The Brahmins and the other of the instructed classes of India," he feared, would direct their efforts chiefly "to corrupt our native soldiery, who are neither insensible to their own consequence, nor inobservant of the depressed scale on which they serve."* It is a matter of history that the native soldiery has always remained untouched by the press; and that its great mutiny had no connection whatever with the press. In some of the native papers warnings of the coming danger might have been found some time before the catastrophe of 1857. "The opinions of the native press may often be regarded as the safety-valve which gives warning of danger; thus had the Delhi Native newspapers of January 1857 been consulted by European functionaries, they would have seen in them how the natives were ripe for revolt, and were expecting aid from Persia and Russia."†

Whatever misgivings, however, the authorities may have had—and they had, it must be conceded, some just grounds for them—about the progress of the native papers, the *Samachar* never gave any trouble to the Government. Even in its worst days it never proved mischievous; while now, though a prominent critic of Government, it is eminently fair-minded and loyal, as is recognised by the Government in its Reports.

We may now turn from the paper to its originator and first editor. He was a Parsi named Fardoonji Murzban, a man of great enterprise and remarkable ability. Born in 1787 of humble parents of the priestly class, F. Murzban had a very varied and chequered career of sixty years as printer, publisher, editor, man of letters and merchant. He was the pioneer not only of journalism in Western India, but of all Gujarati printed literature. Though he may not be called the Caxton of Western India—that honour belongs to another man, also a Parsi, as I have shown elsewhere—‡, it was certainly he who showed his countrymen the way in the composition and publication of healthy literature. His was the first native press established in India—the *Samachar* press, in 1812; and some of the very earliest books printed in Gujarati, appeared from this famous establishment, written by himself as well as by other writers whom he encouraged. In 1814 he published the first Gujarati Calendar,

* *Political History of India*, 1826, Vol. II, p. 316.

† Rev. J. Lung. Report on the Native Press in Bengal in *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XXVII, 1859, p. iii.

‡ For this and other historical prints I may refer to my paper on the "Rise, Progress and Present Position of the Native Press of Western India" before the Society of Arts, London, this Season.

fully six years before the first Bengali Calendar was printed and published by natives in Calcutta.* This Calendar was the first of a series which has continued in an unbroken line for 83 years, and the 84th yearly issue of it was published only the other day—the new year's day of the Hindus—from the same *Samachar* press, in an edition of 30,000 copies—an unusually large number for an Indian publication. Within ten years after the opening of his press, Murzban published, as we have seen, in 1822, the first native newspaper, the *Samachar*, which, too, like his Calendar, or *Punchang*, still exists and thrives, though in quite different hands. He must have started all his concerns in auspicious moments, for all, his press, his paper, his Calendar, exist to the present day, and all in very good and flourishing condition. But unfortunately he himself reaped the fruits of his enterprise for only a short time, as he came to grief over a commercial venture to which he was tempted by his pecuniary success as printer and journalist. After conducting the *Samachar* for just ten years, he had to give it up to his creditors and to leave Bombay altogether and for ever, and seek safety and shelter in the neighbouring Portuguese settlement of Damaun, where he died fifteen years later in 1847. His journalistic and literary traditions have been continued and maintained to the present day by his sons and grandsons, who have owned other presses and other papers. One of his grandsons, Mr. Jehangir B. Murzban, is the editor and proprietor of another good native daily paper of the present day, and is also a popular and clever Gujarati novelist.

During the ten years that Fardoonji Murzban conducted the *Samachar*, he was freely aided by Government as well as its officials. Mountstuart Elphinstone, a statesman in every way well inclined and friendly to Indians and heartily bent on advancing them in knowledge and influence in every proper way, specially encouraged Murzban's enterprise, and gave it the material support of the extremely handsome annual subscription of 50 copies at Rs. 24 per copy. We find in the list of original subscribers given in the second number of the paper many eminent Anglo-Indian officials of those days, including Romer, Walker, and Ironside. But for this Government encouragement and support, it is certain that such a paper could not have come into existence in those early days. And the *Samachar* showed very soon that it was worthy of such patronage. Government had no reason to be dissatisfied with its *protege*, which, however, was never cringing in its tone. This character the paper has always kept up, till in our days its distinguishing characteristic of sobriety and independence of view, leaning to neither extreme, but maintaining the safe

* Vide Rev. J. Long in *Calcutta Review* 1850, p. 153.

and dignified *via media*, has been many times noted and lauded by the public, as well as the authorities in the Annual Administration Reports and blue-books.

Fardoonji Murzban's great helper was the famous Parsi Oriental scholar, Mulla Firoze, who was distinguished as poet, philosopher, critic and theologian in the first quarter of this century in Bombay. A man of as pure life and high character as wide and deep learning, Mulla Firoze was honoured by the most distinguished of his contemporaries. Governors of Bombay like Jonathan Duncan and John Malcolm took delight in learning from him his special lore, while his style and erudition were the theme of just praise by his brother scholars in India and Persia. In a happy moment Malcolm, who was proud to be called his pupil and disciple, and who always mentions him with honour, if not enthusiasm, in his works, suggested to him the idea of celebrating the eventful and long reign of George III in Persian poetry. Mulla Firoze executed the idea, and the famous *George Namah* is the splendid result. George III is immortalised in the East by this masterly poem, which comes up in many respects to Firdausi's *Shah Namah* itself, and will live in the memory of Orientals longer and better than many a greater English sovereign.

It is not surprising that, under such guidance, Murzban should have gone on smoothly and successfully with his paper. He was the great Mulla's disciple from his early days, and owed all his learning and much of his character and literary tastes to him. He published several learned Persian theological and philosophical books, like the *Dabistan*, under his master's guidance. But commercial misfortunes unfortunately overtook him, as we have said above; and, at about the same time, he lost the Mulla's powerful support and influence owing to his death.

The *Samachar* passed into other hands, though the editorial work was carried on for two years by a young man trained by himself, Mr. Temulji Mirza, who died, at the early age of 26, in 1834. The next editor, Mr. Cowasji Mama, also died young, 32, but was editor for a longer period, seven years, till 1841. Under these two editors, as well as their two successors, the *Samachar* sustained its early reputation fairly well. These latter were two Hindus, Janardhan Wasudev and his brother, Vinayek Wasudev, who both rose high in Government service later on, the former becoming acting Judge of the Bombay Supreme Court, the first native to sit on that Bench, and the latter rising to be the Oriental Translator to Government. They were Mahratha Hindus, and it was a unique thing for such Hindus to edit a Gujarati newspaper owned by Parsis. But the Mahratha learned men in those days studied Gujarati well, an accomplishment which their successors

of to-day lack. Moreover, the *Samachar*, though always owned by Parsis and edited, with the above exception, by Parsi editors throughout its entire career, has been always a cosmopolitan paper, appealing to all sections of the native community of Western India. Hindus and Mahomedans read and find their views reflected in it as much as Parsis. It has kept clear of social and religious prejudices and all sectarian differences, and joins hands with all races and creeds on broad political and literary ground. There are other papers which may be said to appeal to particular sects and creeds. There is the *Jamé Jamshid* for instance which is chiefly, if not solely, a Parsi paper, writing for Parsis and humouring their tastes and views. There is the *Gujarati*, which is solely a paper for the Hindus of Gujarat, writing for them, and occasionally, it must be said, writing down to their level of so-called orthodoxy, but really superstitious and pernicious narrow-mindedness and bigotry. There are special Mahomedan papers, which write more or less fanatic and bigoted stuff for the lower strata of their religionists—for the middle and higher classes are sensible enough to despise them. But the *Bombay Samachar*, while tied down to none of these sections, appeals to them all, and is popular with the entire native community.

The twenty years between 1844 and 1864 were indifferent times for the press in Bombay. Many papers had sprung into existence after the *Samachar*; but they were all drooping. The *Chabook* attempted to be lively by being grossly personal and occasionally indecent and even obscene. The *Samachar*, though it never fell so low, was in incompetent hands then, and merely existed. During the eight or ten years before 1864, it was at its lowest ebb, in the hands of a proprietor who was destitute of parts as well as energy. Turning over the files of those years, and remembering its early brilliant days, one involuntarily exclaims *Quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!* This historical paper was at its last gasp in 1864, and would have expired ingloriously had it not come into new hands. This proved its salvation, and, Phoenix-like, it rose from its ashes and attained not only to its early greatness, but to a level far higher than that.

It took a long time for the new proprietors to revive the moribund paper and infuse new life and vigour into it. When it came into the sole hands of its present proprietor, in 1870, its circulation was hardly 150 copies. In ten years it rose to 1,000 copies. In 1881 the vernacular press all over India received a strong impetus from the liberal policy of Lord Ripon. The repeal of the Press Gagging Act of Lord Lytton of 1878, and many other concessions to the native press on the part of the Government, encouraged it greatly.

Ever since that time the native press has grown in influence and power. The progress which it has made during the last sixteen years is greater than that made by it during its entire previous existence of nearly sixty years. Not only has the number of papers more than doubled, but the older ones as well as the new comers appeal now to far larger circles of readers. The Bombay Presidency has profited the most by this revival in quality as well as quantity. Not only is the number of papers published in it larger than in any other province, but their tone and character are also higher, with, of course, some exceptions, of which so much has been heard and made recently.

The *Samachar* has participated to the full in this revival, and has more than kept pace with the times. It is not only that its circulation has grown much larger—it has more than trebled itself, rising from one thousand to three thousand five hundred in these sixteen years—, though this is also a very creditable feature of its progress; but its influence has grown vastly also. It is now eminently *the* leading native paper in Western India, foremost among the large number, nearly 200, of the papers of various kinds that issue from the presses of nearly every town in it. For a reflection of real native opinion on political matters this paper is invaluable. It is a pity that it publishes no English columns making its views known to the ruling class. The native press has a double function to perform in India if it is to prove true to its high mission. It has to form and educate public opinion, as well as to reflect it. The native public have views of their own on most questions based on their previous knowledge, or rather ignorance and prejudices. The duty of an honest press is to gradually inform them and wean them from such erroneous views. The most respectable among the Bombay papers have endeavoured to do this, and have been fairly successful. The most notable instance of a press succeeding in educating public opinion and thereby bringing about healthy, social and religious reforms, is that of the Parsi community. That community was in just as backward a condition as regards social and even some religious matters as the other native communities around them sixty years ago. It was a strong section of the Parsi press that was instrumental in leading it out of the mire of old superstition and prejudice and making it the enlightened and liberal community that it now is. The *Rast Goftar* has the credit of having done a great part of this work from its earliest days, when men who have since become famous, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sorabji Bengalee, and others, started this paper for the express purpose of storming the stronghold of ancient prejudice and ignorance, down to our own time when the younger generation

of Parsis, with its present able editor, Mr. K. N. Kabraji, have continued with all their might the good work of their predecessors and have crowned it with success. It is a pity that a small section of the press should prostitute itself to the base purposes of ignorant and interested reaction and try to undo the good results of enlightened reformers. This section has never been important, but it is powerful in its small way for mischief by pandering to the worst tastes and sentiments of old bigotry and fanaticism.

The *Samachar* has also done a great deal to help the cause of reform among Parsis. But this is not its chief work, because, though conducted by Parsis, it aims, as said above, to be a paper for all classes and creeds. Its chief strength is in its politics. These are, of course, the politics of what may be called the "Opposition." From its very nature, an honest native press must be always "in opposition," as has been well put by the late acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Stevens. And, as such, it must chiefly criticise. The *Samachar* is critical, like most native papers. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that its criticism is of the kind to which many of these latter are addicted. The *Samachar* criticises Government measures freely and powerfully; but very seldom unfairly or in a carping manner. Bound to look rather at public questions and the conduct of the British Government from the Indian subjects' point of view, it cannot of course sympathise with the Imperialist policy of the rulers. One can almost see from the editorials of this paper that the writer feels constrained to differ from the authorities, and would very willingly agree with them if he could in any honest way. The financial policy and the frontier policy are the chief points on which it criticises the Government; and it is not easy to see how any honest native critic can possibly approve of either. The native press has many grievances; but they are all as a shadow by the side of the terrible reality of Indian finance. And native journalists cannot be honest if they do not raise their voice against this; even eminent Anglo-Indian and English critics have done so in no faltering tone.

But there are ways of criticising and opposing. Many native papers adopt a wild reckless tone while doing this, not out of wantonness in most cases, as is alleged, but out of helplessness and the bitterness coming of despair. But these papers find no severer censor than their contemporary of the *Samachar*. It was only very recently, during the agitation over the Poona Press vagaries, that it published a remarkable series of articles on native papers, exposing their real defects and pointing out to the Government how to remedy them. It must be said that the *Samachar* has itself done much to remedy

some of them and to raise the tone of its younger contemporaries. A first-class well-conducted central paper is a great living example to the whole press, which, consciously or unconsciously, is gradually influenced by it. The healthy influence of the *Samachar* is felt by the entire Gujarati section of the Bombay press. Unfortunately it cannot reach the Mahratha section, as its language is different. The Gujarati native press is not considered now by its worst critics so faulty in tone as the Mahratha; and one chief reason of this is that it has at the centre a leading paper of eminent sobriety of judgment and moderation of tone like the *Samachar*, as an exemplar and a check, while the latter has no such model.

A few words may be said here about the man who has brought this paper to its present height and rendered such a signal service to the cause of journalism in India. Mr. Maneckji Bajtorji Minocher-Homji, its present editor and proprietor, to whom entirely is due the credit of making the *Samachar* such an influential and successful paper, has been a journalist from his early years. Born in 1841, he joined the ranks of the press at the early age of twenty, and, after editing one or two minor papers, became connected with his present paper in 1864, and its sole proprietor in 1870. Ever since, he has devoted himself entirely to his paper with a singleness of purpose and strength of will that are remarkable. He is a true journalist and has studiously kept himself out of prominent public life. Though taking a keen interest in politics for more than a whole generation, he is not a politician like the Congress men or some other native editors. A man of his talents and character would have taken a high rank among the public men of the day in Bombay; but Mr. Maneckji has chosen to influence and form public opinion through his paper, rather than figure, like some of his contemporaries, on the platform. He takes a keen interest in the municipal affairs of Bombay; and the shortcomings of the city in this matter have no severer critic than him. During the plague he was the principal assailant of the incapable Municipal Corporation of Bombay, leading popular opinion with him, and did much to help Government when it took the management of plague measures into its own hands. European foreign politics are also a speciality of his, though this is rather strange for a native editor. His articles on this subject in the *Samachar* are extremely able and show wide reading and good judgment. In fact, in this matter especially, he leads the entire Gujarati press, which takes its views chiefly, if not solely, from him; many of the papers simply copying his articles in their columns. Mr. Maneckji is a brilliant writer of fiction. His *Daturdoo* series of novels of Parsi social life are very popular, and have done much to reform Parsi manners and customs. We shall have

occasion to treat of these excellent novels in a later article on modern Gujarati novelists, as the novel has become an important branch of the literature of Western India, and has been productive of much good among the natives. He has also written poetry, and has taken great pains to cultivate and develop Indian music. But his best work is the *Bombay Samachar*, that by which he has influenced the present, and will be best remembered in the future.

We have dwelt with some length on the excellent qualities of this leading paper, not so much to do justice to a deserving journal, as to show that the native press, if judged by its best exponent, is highly respectable, sober, and sound; and that Government has only to encourage it further in order to improve it still more. Mr. Stephen Wheeler, in an article on the "Indian Native Press" ten years ago, recommended to Government a policy of conciliation and encouragement towards it; and recent events have only strengthened the necessity of such a policy. "Hitherto," said he, "our policy has been either to leave the native press severely alone, or to check sedition by the strong measures of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act. That Act being no longer in force, we shall be wise to try another plan, offering such advantages to well-conducted papers as will induce them to regard abstention from libels, whether on the State or on individuals, as an essential condition of remunerative journalism."* Government recognition and encouragement of papers like the *Bombay Samachar* can be productive of the highest good both to the public and to the native press itself. The latter will have no reason then to plead the indifference of the highest authorities to its merits as justification of the bitterness of some of its members. By supplying correct information promptly to the native papers at the same time as to the Anglo-Indian papers—partiality in this matter is one of the chief causes of irritation to the former—Government will not only be strictly fair and considerate to the native press, but also be looking to its own peace of mind and composure. In this connection the advice which that able Madras journalist, Bruce Norton, offered forty years ago to the Government as regards Anglo-Indian papers, may be offered now to the authorities with respect to the native press. "I am quite certain", said he, "that if the old jealousy of the entire press be abandoned, and a totally opposite policy inaugurated, Government cannot fail to be the gainer by the bargain. In almost every case that I remember, explanation has been to its advantage. It complains that the press writer acts on half truths; why not supply the other half, now so carefully kept under the secretariat lock and key? Thus, the

* *Macmillan's Magazine*, Vol. LVIII, p. 384.

Government would have the benefit of hearing questions discussed in every possible aspect, instead of deciding upon arguments emanating from one and the same point, while publicity could not but enhance the credit of a Government, whose boast is that their intentions are good.”*

Government have learnt now the wisdom of a policy of frankness and confidence towards the press from the marked improvement brought about by such a policy in the Anglo-Indian press during the last forty or fifty years. Why not pursue the same policy towards the native press, at least for a time, and watch its results. They cannot but be beneficial to both sides: greater consideration shown to native journalists will certainly not spoil them. Till now, they have been spoilt chiefly by the want of it. The State has many opportunities of recognising journalistic ability, and it has recognised it in the case of many Anglo-Indian journalists and even proprietors of journals. How is it that no native journalist has never received any mark of Government favour as such, not even a C. I. E.?

R. P. KARKARIA.

* *Topics for Indian Statesmen*, p. 348.

ART. III.—OUR WEST INDIA COLONIES : THEIR
PRESENT CONDITION, AND THEIR PROSPECTS.

Report of the West India Royal Commission, with Subsidiary Report by D. Morris, Esq., D. Sc., C. M. G. (Assistant Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew); presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty: London 1897.

PERHAPS the most important thing Mr. Chamberlain has yet achieved is the inquiry into the conditions and prospects of the sugar-growing West India Colonies, which was instituted in December 1896 by the appointment for the purpose of a Royal Commission, whose report was published early in the following October. The state of these colonies had been going from bad to worse, but it was not apparent how, without flying altogether in the face of Free Trade, it could be ameliorated. Owing to the enormous production of bounty-fed beet-root sugar in France and Germany, and its unrestricted free importation into the United Kingdom, it had become impossible to sell there the cane sugars produced in our West India Colonies at remunerative prices; but, the buyers having become accustomed to cheap sugar, and having so far attained to Mr. Bright's ideal—a free breakfast table—it seemed useless to think of aiding our colonists by either bounties or countervailing import duties. But why these colonists, with a better raw material, and cheaper labour, had failed in the competition with the European producers of beet sugar was not clear. It was evident that the conditions of the case must be ascertained by a thorough inquiry before any attempt could be made to devise remedies for the unfortunate state of the industry. Mr. Chamberlain therefore obtained the appointment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry, and took care that it should be efficiently manned and equipped. The Members of the Commission were General Sir Henry Wylie Norman, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., C.I.E., Sir Edward Grey, Baronet, M. P., and Sir David Barbour, K.C.S.I., and the Secretary was Mr. Sydney B. Olivier, B. A. Mr. D. Morris, D. Sc., C. M. G., the Assistant Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew, was attached by Mr. Chamberlain to the Commissioners as botanical and agricultural expert, though not named in the proclamation.

The Commission under the Royal Sign Manual was dated the 22nd December, 1896, and states that it was issued upon representations which had been made by the Governors and Legislative Bodies, and by inhabitants, of those of the West India Colonies in which the cultivation and production

of sugar forms the chief industry, and provides subsistence, directly or indirectly, for a large proportion of the population, that the sugar industry there was in a state of extreme depression and that it could no longer be carried on except at a loss. Many sugar estates, it was said, were being abandoned and thrown out of cultivation, and if the depression continued, many more estates would shortly be abandoned, and thus distress was and would be caused among the labouring population, including large numbers of East Indian Immigrants, and this depression would destroy the general prosperity of those colonies, and render it impossible for them unassisted to provide for their own government and administration. This state of things, it was urged, had been mainly caused by the competition of sugar produced under a system of bounties adopted in some European countries, and which had recently been greatly extended. It being therefore expedient that full and authentic information should be obtained as to the facts and causes of the alleged depression of the Sugar Industry in these Colonies, and the general condition and prospects of that industry and of the colonies generally in connexion therewith, the distinguished persons above named were appointed "to make full and diligent inquiry into the condition and prospects of certain of our Colonies in the West Indies in which sugar is produced, namely, our Colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbadoes, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and the Leeward Islands, and to suggest such measures as appear to you best calculated to restore and maintain the prosperity of those Colonies, and of their inhabitants, and we do hereby charge and command all Our Officers, Civil and Military, and our faithful subjects, and all others inhabiting the said several colonies and their respective Dependencies, that in their several places, and according to their several powers and opportunities, they be aiding to you in the execution of this Our Commission."

A letter subsequently written to Sir Henry Norman by Mr. Chamberlain, dated the 5th January 1897, is prefixed to the report, and in it are stated more fully than in the 'Commission' itself some of the points to which the Government wished the inquiry to be directed. The first subject to be considered was stated to be—whether the sugar industry in the colonies in question was in fact in danger of extinction, in connexion with which question it would be necessary to ascertain what were the causes of the depression and whether they were temporary or permanent; whether they included matters independent of the competition of sugar produced under Bounty systems, such as extravagance in management, imperfection in the processes of manufacture,

inadequate supervision consequent upon absentee ownership, and, if so, whether the removal of these causes would enable it to be carried on profitably notwithstanding such competition. A further subject of the inquiry, Mr. Chamberlain said, would be whether in the event of the production of sugar in these colonies being discontinued or considerably diminished, other industries could replace it and be carried on profitably, and could supply employment for the labouring population. If such industries could be indicated, it would also be desirable to ascertain whether they could be established in time to meet any existing crisis. Mr. Chamberlain also said that it was of great importance to ascertain what effect the total or partial extinction of the sugar industry would be likely to have upon the condition of the labouring classes and upon the revenue of the colonies concerned, whether any loss of revenue could be to any material extent met by reduction of public expenditure, and whether these colonies would be able to provide the necessary cost of administration, including the relief of unemployed and necessitous persons, without subvention from the Mother country. If it appeared that such subventions would be necessary, Her Majesty's Government, Mr. Chamberlain said, would be glad to be furnished with the Commissioner's opinions as to their probable amount.

Finally it was hoped that the Commissioners would find it possible to complete their inquiry in the colonies within a period not exceeding four months, and, in order to facilitate their movements, the consent of the Admiralty had, it was said, been obtained to place a gunboat at their service. This last was a happy thought, for, being able to move about among the islands independently of private vessels, the Commissioners were in the colonies only about forty-six days, and were able to go at once, on the completion of their local investigations to New York, where they made some informal investigations as to circumstances affecting West Indian trade, and took steps to obtain information regarding the beet sugar industry in the United States, before sailing for Liverpool. They were absent from England just three months. Some impatience was expressed in the newspaper press because the Commissioners did not submit their report soon after they got home; but they had a good deal of additional work to do before they could frame it, and the perusal of the Blue Book, which contains a subsidiary report by Dr. Morris of greater length than that of the Commissioners, and some twenty elaborate statistical tables and diagrams prepared by Mr. Olivier, the Secretary, shows that all concerned in its production must have worked hard to complete it so soon.

The Commissioners met in London just a week after the Commission was issued, and took evidence from selected witnesses till the 7th January 1897. The voyage to Georgetown in British Guiana occupied a fortnight. They left that Colony in H. M. S. "Talbot" on the 6th February, and visited successively the island colonies of Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbadoes, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Jamaica, and in each colony they prosecuted inquiries. As already mentioned, they reached England, *via* New York, on the 1st May; and between the 11th and 28th of that month they examined, in London, some further witnesses who were in a position to help them with their inquiry, and received valuable information from Mr. A. E. Bateman, Deputy Controller-General of the Commercial, Statistical, and Labour Department of the Board of Trade. They held in all forty-five formal meetings to receive oral evidence, and examined three-hundred and eighty witnesses of all classes and occupations. Among the evidence last taken was that of an important deputation from the sugar refiners of the United Kingdom; who complained that their business had been seriously injured by the higher bounties given Continental Governments on the export of refined than on raw beet sugar. The Governor of Mauritius having forwarded to the Colonial Secretary a resolution of the Legislative Council, complaining of the effect of the Continental bounties, the Commissioners took evidence of persons acquainted with the sugar industry in Mauritius and Queensland, the circumstances of which differ on various respects from those of the West Indies. The oral evidence given publicly in London and in the Colonies, together with documentary matter, is recorded in Appendix C.* Certain shy witnesses were examined confidentially. Many papers were sent in by private persons; but the Commissioners have had to exercise discretion in selecting for publication only those which were relevant and not repetition of what had been already sufficiently stated. For want of shorthand-writers, the verbal evidence given in some of the Colonies could not be taken down in full; but the Secretary prepared summaries for submission with the report.

Regarding the Scheme of their Report the Commissioners say :—

9. "The condition and prospects of your Majesty's West Indian possessions in which sugar is produced vary very materially in the different Colonies, and it will, therefore, be necessary that we should deal separately, and at some length, with each Island and with British Guiana; but before doing so it will be convenient to consider certain general questions which affect all the sugar-producing Colonies, inasmuch as depression of greater or less intensity exists in

* Appendix C. occupies 3 Volumes : Vol. I contains 213 pages, Vol. II, 65 pages and Vol. III 429 pages.

all of them, and is due to the operation of the same set of causes. These general questions will be discussed in Part I of our Report. In Part II we shall deal separately with the different Colonies, and Part III will contain a summary of our final conclusions, with such further remarks as may appear to us to be necessary; and, also, our replies to the questions addressed to us by your Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies."

It will be convenient to summarise the Report under the heads adopted by the Commissioners.

PART I.—GENERAL QUESTIONS.

I.—Economic Condition of the West India Colonies.

These Colonies are all situated within the tropics, and Situation, characteristics extend from British Guiana in the south-east to Jamaica in the south-west, through 20 degrees of longitude and 15 of latitude. They may, as a whole, be described as eminently suited both by climate and by soil for the growth of special tropical products. In some of them cattle and horses can be profitably reared for local use; but the savannas in the interior of British Guiana, which are said to be well suited for this purpose, cannot be utilised, for want of means of access from the coast. There is no prospect of manufacturing industries being established on any considerable scale. Nor is any mineral wealth of importance known to exist, except the asphalt obtained from the Pitch Lake of Trinidad and the gold of British Guiana. Articles of human food can be readily grown, and the necessities of existence are therefore secured to the labouring classes; but there is no foreign market for such produce of any importance. For articles of food which can only be produced in temperate climes, and for manufactured goods, including clothes, and, generally, for the purchase of imports of any kind, these possessions of the Crown are dependent on being able to find a profitable foreign market for their special tropical products. "It is, moreover, only by means of such an export trade that the population can be maintained in such a condition of prosperity as will permit of sufficient revenue being raised to meet the cost of a civilised Government." But, the Commissioners note, as a qualification of this general statement, that in British Guiana the production of alluvial gold is already of considerable importance, and operations are being carried on there for the extraction of gold from quartz reefs. The special causes of the present depression having only become seriously operative only within the last fifteen years, the tables of statistics begin with the year 1882.

In former times the prosperity of the West Indies depended Extent of dependence on almost entirely on the production of the Sugar Industry. sugar and rum. But for many years the sugar industry has, from various causes, been growing less

profitable than it used to be, and cocoa and fruit have been grown and exported to a considerable extent from some of the islands. The following table shows approximately for the year 1896, the exports of each Colony, and that most of them are still greatly dependent on the cultivation of the sugar-cane.

| Colony or Island. | Total Exports of Produce and Manu- factures of the Colony, 1896. | Exports of the Products of Sugar Cane Sugar, Rum, and Molasses. | Percentages of Sugar- Cane Pro- ducts in total Exports. |
|--|---|--|---|
| | £ | £ | |
| Jamaica* | 1,700,000 | 300,000 | 18 |
| British Guiana | 1,814,000 | 1,280,000 | 70½ |
| British Guiana, excluding Gold | (1,353,000) | (1,280,000) | (94½) |
| Trinidad | 1,363,000 | 773,000 | 57 |
| Tobago | 20,000 | 7,000 | 35 |
| Barbadoes | 577,000 | 558,000 | 97 |
| Grenada | 182,000 | Nil | — |
| St. Lucia | 85,000 | 63,000 | 74 |
| St. Vincent | 57,000 | 24,000 | 42 |
| Antigua | 127,000 | 119,000 | 94½ |
| St. Kitts-Nevis | 109,000 | 105,000 | 96½ |
| Dominica | 48,000 | 7 000 | 15 |
| Montserrat | 24,000 | 15,000 | 62 |
| Total for all Colonies | £ 6,100,000 | £ 3,251,000 | 53 |
| Total, excluding Jamaica and Gold from British Guiana | 3,945,000 | 2,951,000 | 75 |

The total value of the Sugar products exported was about £3,250,000, of the Rum £265,000, and of the Molasses £195,000. The Commissioners observe that in most of these Colonies the products of the sugar-cane, though they are now valued at prices much below those which prevailed a few years ago, still form by far the larger portion of the total exports of native produce. Also, that the gravity of the immediate danger to the welfare of each Colony which would arise from a failure of the sugar-cane industry may, for practical purposes, be measured by the proportion which the exports of sugar, rum, and molasses bear to the total exports of that Colony; but that in such an event the welfare of each Colony would in the long run depend on the extent to which it might be found possible to establish other industries.

* The figures given for Jamaica are estimated, as the official returns were not complete.

II.—PROSPECTS OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The Fall in the prices of Sugar Products.

In spite of the recent appearance of cane disease, the West Indian Colonies appear to be practically as well suited as ever for the production of sugar and associated products, and the present depression is due solely to the fall in prices of these commodities, especially of sugar, the most important of them. From a table, given in the report, of *the average prices at which refined and unrefined sugar were imported into the United Kingdom in each of the last 16 years, deduced from the declared quantities and values of the imports, furnished to the commissioners, by Mr. A. E. Bateman of the board of Trade, it appears* that these had fallen as shown in this abstract, the first two and the last years only being given.

| Years. | Refined and Candy. | | Unrefined. | |
|--------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|
| | Lumps, or Loaves | Other Sorts | Beetroot | Cane & other Sorts. |
| | Per Cwt. | Per Cwt. | Per Cwt. | Per Cwt. |
| 1881 | S. 28'93 | | S. 21'72 | |
| 1882 | S. 29'14 | 28'03 | S. 21'15 | S' 21'09 |
| 1896 | 14'75 | 13'33 | 10'34 | 10'85 |

The average values for the current year, up to date, were not obtainable, but the commissioners give the following statement of London prices current for landed sugars on the 6th August, under an analogous classification :—

| Refined and Candy. | | Unrefined. | |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Cubes. | Granulated. | Beet (94% pol.) | Cane 96% pol. |
| 13s. 6d. | 11s. 4½d. | 8s. 10½d. | 9s. 3d. |

This great fall in the price of sugar has rendered sugar-cane cultivation unprofitable for the time being, and the Commissioners say they are unable to find any good grounds for holding that any material rise in price is likely to occur in the immediate future. As a matter of fact, the prices for 1897 have ranged much below those of any previous year, and, concurrently with the fall in the price of sugar there has been a heavy fall in the prices of molasses and rum. The value of

Demerara rum has declined from 2s. 4½d. per gallon in 1891 to 1s. 0½d. per gallon in 1896, and the value of molasses has fallen, in Barbadoes and Antigua, in a few years, from 40 to 6 cents a gallon, or even less.

B

Probable course of Prices under present conditions.

The yearly production of sugar estimated to have been thrown on the markets of the world during each of the last 15 years, exclusive of sugar produced and consumed in such countries as India and China, has fluctuated considerably, but has greatly increased. The Board of Trade have furnished figures for 1882 to 1894 as follow:—

| COUNTRIES | | | | 1882 | 1894 |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|
| | | | | Tons | Tons |
| Total from Cane-growing countries | ... | ... | ... | 2,016,084 | 3,437,774 |
| Europe ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,783,200 | 3,840,256 |
| Total | ... | ... | ... | 3,799,284 | 7,278,030 |

and Mr. C. Czamikow for the years 1894-95 to 1896-97 *

| | | | | 1894-95 | 1895-96 | 1896-97 |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | | | Tons | Tons | Tons |
| Beet ... | ... | ... | ... | 4,792,000 | 4,285,000 | 4,950,000 |
| Cane ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,139,000 | 2,605,000 | 2,524,000 |
| Total | ... | ... | ... | 7,931,000 | 6,890,000 | 7,474,000 |

The Commissioners say that to this great increase in the total production of sugar, chiefly of beet sugar, must the fall in prices be mainly attributed, though this increase has been accompanied by a progressive economy in production. The production of beet sugar has been stimulated by the grant of bounties, and within the past year Germany and Austria have doubled their bounties on the export of sugar, and France has very largely increased hers. The bounties vary in amount at the present time from about £4 10s. a ton in France to £1 5s. and £1 15s., on raw and refined sugar, respectively, in Germany. The total production of European bounty-fed sugar in 1895-96 is estimated to have been more than 60 per cent. of the total production of sugar of all kinds dealt with in the great markets of the world. The proportion of beet sugar would not have been so high in this year, but for a falling off in the production of cane sugar in Cuba to the extent of about three-fourths of a million tons, a falling off the effects of which are equally conspicuous in the estimate for 1896-97, which shows a still higher proportion of beet sugar; but this shortcoming on the part of Cuba may not be permanent.

* The statistical year of the Sugar Trade is from 1st September to 1st August.

The production of sugar in the United States of America, being protected by a high import duty, and in some States by a bounty on the production of beet sugar, is increasing. The production of the latter sort is expected to increase the most, and to attain such dimensions, that perhaps the time will come when the United States will produce all the sugar they can consume.

Other countries besides those that produce beet artificially stimulate the production of sugar. Thus the Government of Queensland guarantees principal and interest on debentures, not exceeding £500,000 as a maximum, issued for the construction of factories, and Argentina has taken steps to give direct bounties on exportation. British Guiana and Trinidad contribute from their several revenues a portion of the cost of importing Indian labour for employment on the sugar estates. In the United States countervailing duties have quite recently been imposed on bounty-fed sugar, in addition to the very high import duty levied on all sugars, which some people think may benefit the West Indian Colonies.

United States tariff legislation. But the Commissioners think this may result in favour of the States grown beet sugar. Up to last July the rate of duty on West Indian sugar imported into the United States was 40 per cent. *ad valorem*; but by the new tariff law 50 per cent. has been superadded.

Economies in production of both beet and cane sugar have been effected by discoveries of new processes and invention of new machinery; and improved strains of the beet plant have been successful. Germany is paying great attention to cultivation and manufacture. New fields, such as Egypt and Argentina, are being opened up, with the advantages of virgin soil

Cheapening of production. Extension of fields for production. and matured experience in manufacturing processes. The accumulation of capital is proceeding so rapidly that money is available for even the extension of sugarcane cultivation, and it is a notable fact, the Commissioners say, "that, although between 1882 and 1894 the production of beet sugar rose from 1,783,200 tons to 3,840,256 tons, the production of cane sugar increased during the same period from 2,016,084 tons to 3,437,774 tons, or by 70 per cent.

The rapid and large increase in the production of beet sugar in Europe, from 1,783,200 tons in 1882 to 2,545,389 in 1885, resulted in a heavy fall in the price of sugar, and great depression in the West Indies. In 1886 there was a

Fluctuation in production and price.

temporary decrease in the production of beet sugar, followed by a rise in price and a revival in the West Indies. In 1894 and 1895 there was again rapid increase in production, a fall in price, and severe depression of the industry, which still continues ; but, the conditions being not now the same, and the rates of bounty in Continental States having been greatly raised, a recovery in price, such as occurred in 1885-86, cannot be looked for.

After the intention to increase the German and Austrian bounties was announced, the price of sugar fell by much more than the amount of the increase ; and there has been a slow but continuous fall since the increased bounties came into operation. The development of demand created by fall in price and growth of population, is restricted by the high taxation levied on sugar in many foreign countries, and, for the reasons already given, the Commissioners have come to the conclusion that, if matters are allowed to remain as they are, no considerable or permanent rise in the price of sugar can be counted on. They say (para. 35) :

" In dealing separately at a later stage with the several Colonies, we shall endeavour to show in some detail the present condition of the sugar industry in each, as well as the prospects which lie before that Colony, if the position of the sugar-cane industry does not improve ; but, dealing broadly with the whole question, we may say at once that, looking to the low prices now prevailing, and to the probabilities as to the future of prices which we have just discussed, the sugar-cane industry of the West Indies is threatened with such reduction in the immediate future as may not in some of the Colonies, differ very greatly from extinction, and must seriously affect all of them, with the single exception of Grenada, which no longer produces sugar for export."

iii. — Consequences of a Failure of the Sugar Industry.

The immediate result would be want of employment for the labouring classes, and further reduction of rates of wages. The public revenue would fall off, and would not meet the absolutely necessary public expenditure of some of the Colonies, including interest on debt ; additional outlay would have to be incurred in providing for the population by emigration or otherwise, and the general standard of living would be lamentably reduced in the sugar Colonies. The islands likely to suffer most are Barbados, St. Vincent, Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, Montserrat, and probably St. Lucia ; but none would escape except Grenada. British Guiana would also suffer severely, and the problem to be dealt with in that Colony might prove to be one of exceptional difficulty. Jamaica and Trinidad have other resources, and the export of sugar from Dominica has already been reduced to less than one-sixth of the total export value. The repatriation of those East Indian immigrants in British Guiana and Trinidad who have a right to a

free passage to India, might involve a large expenditure, which must fall upon the public funds, as the sugar estates could not bear it. The present condition of such an island as Tobago illustrates the serious character of the problem that must arise if there should be a collapse of the sugar industry. As exports of sugar have already much decreased, though the resident population manages to live, a considerable proportion is driven to other islands in search of work, and the possible revenue is barely sufficient to meet necessary expenditure. New roads cannot be made, and existing roads cannot be kept in repair.

iv.—Measures to be adopted in view of the threatened failure of the Sugar Industry.

The remedies which may be applied may be discussed under :—

- (a.) The restoration of the sugar industry to a condition in which it can be profitably carried on.
- (b.) The substitution of other and profitable agricultural industries for the cultivation of the sugar-cane.
- (c.) The adoption of subsidiary measures which may assist in preventing or alleviating the strain which is about to be experienced by the Colonies in question, such as greater economy in public expenditure, the promotion of emigration from places where the population is excessive, and, generally, the encouragement of all measures having a tendency to maintain the well-being of the population.

Of these remedies the first would be the only completely efficient one. Some measures under head (b) and (c) may seem applicable to some of the Colonies, but others are so widely applicable that they are dealt with in Part I of the Report. To (a) the Commissioners devote 65 paragraphs, occupying nine pages of their report.

They think that the abolition of the bounties now given by certain countries on the export of beet sugar would not much affect the price, the fall in which is mainly due to a lowering of the cost of production of both beet and cane-sugar; and for that reason they do not concur in the argument that the reduction is such a source of gain to the British Empire as a whole, that it would be wrong to try to bring about the abolition: by far the greater portion of the fall in price is not due to the existence of bounties, and would not be lost if they were abolished. Some British industries possess an advantage over their foreign competitors owing to the low price of sugar in the United Kingdom; but the difference between the high price in foreign countries and the low price in England is due

far more to the high internal taxation and prohibitive customs duties levied in the former than to the effect of the bounties in lowering the price here. The internal taxation in Germany is £10 per ton, and in France £24 per ton, with surtaxes on foreign sugar.

The Commissioners say that the benefit which the British Empire, as a whole, derives from any lowering of the price of sugar by bounties is too dearly purchased by the injury done to a limited class, namely, the West Indian and other subjects dependent on the sugar industry. And the bounty system has introduced an element of uncertainty into the sugar industry which has helped to shake its credit. The industry in the West Indies has no credit, and the fear that bounties may be increased, and prices be thus further lowered, would prevent a revival of credit in the event of a rise in price taking place. Under any circumstances, the days of large profits have passed away; and in the parts of the West Indies less suitable for the production of sugar, even the abolition of bounties would probably fail to produce permanent prosperity. But in certain other parts the abolition would render it possible to maintain profitably a large proportion of the present area of sugar-cane cultivation. The Commissioners, therefore, have no hesitation in recommending the Government to aim at the abolition of the bounty system, at the cost of some sacrifice, if it promised to be really effective and not involving disproportionate evils. Danger is, however, involved in the present protective policy of the United States, which is the best, and the natural market for West Indian sugar. The Commissioners think that the commercial rivalry between the Continental nations is too keen to permit of their combining against the United Kingdom, and, after the sugar-cane industry has been extinguished, abolishing the bounty system and putting on export duties, so as to raise the price of sugar unduly.

Imposition of Countervailing Duties on Beet Sugar.

This question involves many complex considerations, and the Commissioners find themselves unable to calculate the exact effect on the West Indies of countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar imported into the United Kingdom. The bounties are granted on different systems in different countries, they vary very much in amount, and they are subject to alteration. The German beet sugar is a specially important factor in the sugar market, the total export having been 911,891 tons in the year ended the 31st August 1896. Up to that time the German bounty on refined sugar was 17s. 6d. a ton, and on raw sugar 12s. 6d., and the proportion of refined sugar to raw was increasing. In 1894-95 it was 39 per cent., but in 1895-96 44 per cent. The imports of raw beet sugar into the United

Kingdom from all countries for the last 12 years, though fluctuating, were on the whole nearly stationary ; but those of refined beet sugar increased from 152,000 tons in 1885 to 738,000 tons in 1896. Other facts and considerations also lead the Commissioners to conclude that it would be a hopeless task to determine to what extent the fall in price due to bounties, which itself they cannot calculate, would be counteracted by the imposition of countervailing import duties. In order to be effective in restoring prosperity to the West Indian sugar industry, these duties must have the effect of raising the price of sugar to an extent which would cost consumers in the United Kingdom at least two millions sterling a year, a tax which the Commissioners say would be out of proportion to the interests involved in the maintenance of that industry. On the other hand, account must be taken of the revenue the duties would produce, and the remission of taxation on some article of general consumption which would be possible. But the greater the effect of the duties the less would be the amount of revenue derived from them. On the whole, the Commissioners think that the loss to the British consumer, if it were the only matter to be considered, might reasonably be accepted, in view of the importance of removing the disadvantage under which the West Indian producers at present labour. The probable rise in price owing to countervailing duties would not, however, according to the evidence taken, place the West Indian sugar industry in a satisfactory position. A rise of £1-5s. a ton, the amount of the German Bounty on raw beet sugar, would not suffice, for the Trinidad witnesses who have experience of well-equipped factories think that a rise of 30s. a ton would make the business barely profitable. In British Guiana a rise of 35s. a ton was wanted, and some witnesses put the increase of price required at £3 or £4 a ton. The Commissioners doubt whether such a rise in price as would result from countervailing duties would appreciably interfere with such trades as those of the jam, confectionery, and biscuit makers, which depend upon cheap sugar, for they would still have the advantage of competitors in countries where sugar is highly taxed ; but they recognise that similar duties would have to be imposed in India and in some of the Australian colonies, which at present import beet sugar.

" 82. In view " say the Commissioners, " of all the foregoing considerations, namely, the loss to the British consumer

Conclusion ; majority of Commission cannot recommend countervailing duties,

that would result from any rise in the price of sugar ; the inconvenience to trade that would be caused by the imposition of countervailing duties ; the uncertainty whether any such measure would permanently save the sugar industry in the West Indies ; the inexpediency of raising questions connected with the interpretation

of the most favoured nation clause, which might have the effect of weakening its force ; and, finally, the danger direct and indirect, of departing from what has hitherto been considered to be the settled policy of the United Kingdom - we have been unable to agree in a recommendation that such duties should be imposed. At the same time we consider it to be our duty to draw attention to the precarious condition of the sugar industry in the West Indies, to the very serious consequences to the Colonies which must result from a failure of that industry, and to the fact that the levy of countervailing duties is practically the only remedy pressed upon us by the witnesses we have examined, which rests in the hands of Your Majesty's Government.

"83 The Chairman of the Commission does not fully accept the foregoing arguments with regard to countervailing duties, nor does he agree in the conclusion not to recommend the imposition of such duties. His views on these points are stated at the end of this Report."

Turning to Sir Henry Norman's dissent from this conclusion arrived at by the other two Commissioners, it is found that he much regrets that, after several months of constant and cordial co-operation with his colleagues, during which time he has been in general agreement with them, he cannot concur with them in one very important conclusion. He agrees with their views as to the present condition and probable future of the sugar-producing Colonies, and thinks the Report does not under-rate the gravity of the prospect. He also fully agrees that the relinquishment of the bounty system would benefit the Colonies, and that a system of counter bounties by this country would be inexpedient. He also agrees that the question of countervailing duties ought not to be discussed from a purely theoretical standpoint, but must be decided simply with reference to the exigencies of the case, and the probable effects of imposing them. Adopting this view, Sir Henry differs from his colleagues, and urges that duties should be levied on bounty-aided-sugar to an amount equal to the bounty that has been paid on it. After considering all the objections stated in the Report, Sir Henry says :—

"No measure brought under our notice seems to afford such a good prospect of helping the sugar industry on the West Indies as the imposition of countervailing duties. The object in view is so important as to justify some inconvenience and some risk, and after prolonged consideration of the subject, I think that without countervailing duties the sugar industry of the Colonies in question must decline rapidly and perhaps disappear, except for purposes of local consumption."

It is not only the bounty now given that is injurious to the Colonies, but also the absolute uncertainty as to the future. Any saving in the cost of production in the Colonies would probably be met by an increase of bounty. Sir Henry thinks that the British public hardly realise the ruin that would follow a collapse of the Colonial sugar industry. It would seriously affect even those Colonies, such as Trinidad and Jamaica,

which have other industries to fall back upon ; but British Guiana, with nearly 3,00,000 people, Barbados, with 180,000, and all the Windward and Leeward Islands, excluding Grenada and Dominica and, perhaps, Montserrat, may be said to have nothing to export except the products of the sugarcane. The inhabitants of those Colonies would, therefore, be left without the means of importing articles of food, or of paying taxes, the bulk of which are, indeed, customs duties on imports, or excise.

“ The planters must be ruined ; many others who have drawn incomes from sugar properties, will be seriously affected : The tradesmen, artisans, and labouring classes will suffer privation, and probably become discontented and restless, and the revenue will be so crippled as to render it impossible to carry on the Government, even on the most economical scale, in any condition approaching to efficiency. Nor will it be practicable to meet obligations for interest on debt, or to provide for the relief of the poor, or to maintain the hospitals, and schools, or to pay the police force, while in Guiana, and possibly in Trinidad, there would be a demand for the repatriation of large numbers of Indian coolies, to meet the cost of which measure funds would not be forthcoming. Already some of these Colonies labour under a deficit, and this deficit is probably increasing.”

It would be difficult to raise capital for any material outlay in establishing central factories, and improving cultivation and manufacture, and while bounties subsisted Government would incur much risk in making advances for those purposes. Sir Henry says :—

“ I think the tenor of the evidence, the conclusions of the Report, and the paper of Dr. Morris, than whom there is no higher authority on West-Indian production, must satisfy any one that it is impossible to expect that any industry or industries can, within any reasonable time, replace sugar, whether as affording employment and subsistence to the people, or as enabling revenue to be raised to maintain the administration.”

Some industries may easily be overdone. Already in St. Vincent an increased production of arrowroot has caused the price of that article to be barely remunerative, and in Grenada the heavy fall in the price formerly obtained for cocoa is very discouraging. If countervailing duties proved effective, the people of the United Kingdom would have to pay, perhaps, a half penny a pound more for sugar than at present ; but it must be borne in mind that for years sugar has been much cheaper than in other European countries, while their West Indian fellow-subjects have been brought to the brink of ruin. And, as suggested in the Report, the proceeds of countervailing duties could be applied to the reduction of duties on other articles. The inconvenience to the Customs Department of having to levy duties on sugar varying in rate according to the country of export should hardly be allowed to interfere

with the adoption of the measure advocated. Sir Henry Norman concludes his dissent thus :—

“ I am aware that I am advocating a measure which is sure to meet with severe criticism and opposition, but I feel bound respectfully to submit my views, as there seems to be no measure, except the imposition of countervailing duties, which is likely to save a considerable group of British Colonies from disaster, or to prevent obligations falling on the mother country which will be very onerous and very difficult to meet in a satisfactory manner.”

Returning to the body of the Report, *the next subject treated of is whether bounties should be granted on the Export of Sugar from the West Indies*. The Commission cannot recommend this. It would entail the levy of special duties on West Indian sugar in the United States, at present its chief and best market, as the Government of that country has already imposed countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar. It would also at once raise difficulties in connexion with sugar produced in India, Queensland, Mauritius, Fiji, and other British possessions. The rate of such bounty to be effective must be high enough to cover compensation for the difference in freight as compared with that of United States sugar, in addition to the 30s. a ton required for production. The total amount of bounty, therefore, the Commissioners estimate at, at least, £2 a ton, leading, in the case of West Indian sugar alone, to a charge of £500,000 a year. And, as this bounty would have to be granted for sugar produced in other parts of the British Empire, the charge would be out of all proportion to the advantages to be gained.

POSSIBILITY OF REDUCING THE COST OF PRODUCTION.

“ As we are unable,” the Commissioners say, “ to recommend the imposition of countervailing duties on beet sugar, or the grant of a bounty on cane sugar produced in the West Indies, and as at present there seems no likelihood of a considerable and permanent rise in the price of sugar in the ordinary course of events, it is obvious that if the sugar-cane industry is to be restored to a condition of prosperity, this result can only be obtained by reducing the cost of production, unless, indeed, the bounty system be abandoned by the countries which now maintain it.”

But the Commissioners see no prospect of large and immediate reduction in the cost of production that has already been effected. The beet-sugar-producing countries took the lead in this, and thus obtained an advantage over the West Indies. But this involved large expenditure of capital, and the price of sugar simultaneously fell still further, and the profits even on the best-equipped and most favourably-situated estates are not such as to encourage the others to follow suit. The reduced cost of beet-sugar is partly due to an increased proportion of saccharine matter in improved roots, and the experiments made in some Colonies towards improving the

yield of sugarcane may in time prove successful ; but these have not been made on a large enough scale, nor under whole time direction. The Commissioners, however, recommend systematic perseverance, even though success may be too late. Large central factories are now considered the most economical, the management of the cultivation of the canes being conducted separately from that of the manufacture of the sugar. This system obtains in Queensland and elsewhere, but may be unsuited to the present conditions of the West Indies. It has been extensively followed in Martinique, Guadeloupe and Santa Cruz, though with unsatisfactory results. The experiment is now being tried extensively in Trinidad, so far with some success ; and the Commissioners think that such *bond fide* spontaneous experiments might fairly be encouraged by the Governments by improving means of communication and the settlement of cane cultivators on suitable lands. Further reduction of wages or salaries is considered impracticable. The profit on the subsidiary products in molasses and rum is a very important factor, but not only has the value of these fallen heavily, but the extra duty of 4*d.* a gallon levied upon rum imported from the Colonies unfairly handicaps it. This rate of extra duty is imposed on all foreign spirit imported into the United Kingdom, and the witnesses examined in the Colonies complained of it as a hardship, and even an injustice. The Commissioners, recognising that, now that the price of sugar had fallen so low, this impost on the bye-product was a serious matter, on their return home, summoned the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue and asked him what was the exact reason for levying. Mr. Murray explained at some length that the duty was levied to make up for the expense thrown on home distillers by the restrictions on the processes of production necessary for purposes of inspection. This expense had been fixed at 4*d.* since 1881 ; the home distillers protest that it is too low, and the foreign producers of spirits, and particularly the producers of rum, that it is too high. The quantity of foreign spirits which passed into home consumption in the year 1896 was 8,200,000 gallons, which, at 4*d.* a gallon, would yield nearly £37,000. Of that total nearly 4,000,000 gallons were rum. The witness said the proper remedy was for the Colonial Government to give its distillers an allowance of 4*d.* a gallon on the spirit they export, just as the British Government gives an allowance of 4*d.* to the home distiller when he exports, by way of putting him right in a foreign market. Thus the home distiller not only exports free of duty, but gets the allowance of 4*d.* for expenses of inspection ; whereas the witness understood that the Colonial Governments or some of them imposed a duty on export. But, having got this explanation, the Com-

missioners felt bound to say that the principle on which the extra duty is levied on import, and the payment made on export, appeared to them to be unsound. The Home Government had in previous years been moved on this subject, and had replied that it rested with the Colonial Governments themselves to redress the grievance by giving an equivalent drawback upon the rum exported. The Commissioners could not consider this answer satisfactory, as the financial condition of the colonies prevented them from following the example of the richer mother country ; and they pointed out that, if this advice were followed generally by the Colonies and foreign countries, the practical result would be the nullification of the home system.

The evidence taken by the Commissioners lends no support to the theory that sugar estates in the West Indies have suffered through absentee ownership. The best equipped and managed estates are owned by absentee proprietors ; but it is possible that absentee ownership has hindered the development of industries other than sugar production. Substantial profits lead proprietors to transfer both their domicile and their income to Europe, and it would be idle to condemn this. The decadence of an industry has the same effect.

Future of the Sugar Industry.

The Commissioners' summary of the conclusions they have arrived at may be condensed thus :—

There is no probable prospect of any considerable and permanent rise in the price of sugar.

It is uncertain what effect countervailing duties would have upon price, and the imposition of such duties, or the grant of a bounty on West Indian sugar cannot be recommended.

The cost of producing sugar in the backward portions of the West Indies could be reduced by the introduction, at a considerable cost, of new machinery ; but the prospect of profit is not such as would attract the necessary capital.

Improved varieties of sugarcane may be discovered ; but no such discovery is likely to be made in time to be of much use.

Some disadvantage is imposed on the producers of rum by the Imperial surtax on imported spirits.

Absentee ownership is not a cause of the present depression.

Wages and salaries have already been reduced, and no further economy can be expected in respect of them.

On a full consideration of the circumstances of the sugar industry in the West Indies the Commissioners have been driven to the conclusion that there is no prospect of the present area of cultivation being maintained. Some of the

Prospect of present cultivation being maintained.

best equipped and managed estates may, even at present prices, continue to show a surplus of receipts over working expenses, but that surplus will not, in the opinion of the Commissioners, be sufficient in all cases, after providing for deterioration and the results of unfavourable seasons, to yield the ordinary market rate of profit on the capital involved. The prospect is therefore the gradual abandonment of the weaker estates—already begun. And failure to renew the machinery of estates now well-equipped will be followed in time by abandonment. The Commissioners say :—

“ 109. There is every reason to believe that a very serious condition of things is rapidly approaching in your Majesty's West Indian possessions, and that the crisis will be reached in a very few years. We have spoken of the abandonment of the estates as likely to be gradual both because the decision to abandon cultivation is not likely to be at once universal, and because on many estates, where such decision is taken, work is not likely to cease altogether until the growing crop and the ensuing ratoon crop, or aftergrowth of the canes, have been manufactured. Where, however, the owners of the estates depend on loans for the carry of cultivation, the collapse of the credit of the industry may result, in some instances, in the sudden cessation of all employment upon such estates.

It is also material to add that the exceptionally favourable season which some of the Colonies have recently experienced, has to some extent postponed the crisis which must be looked for under normal conditions, and that a bad season would rapidly accelerate the reduction of the present cultivation.”

B.

Substitution of other and profitable Agricultural Industries for the Cultivation of Sugarcane.

Under this head the Commissioners consider it to be of the utmost importance that no time should be lost in making a beginning of substituting other industries for the cultivation of the sugarcane.

System of Present Proprietors.

If the sugar estates are thrown out of cultivation, it is impossible that any industry to be conducted on large estates can ever completely take the place of sugar ; and it is therefore necessary to consider how the mass of population are to support themselves. If work cannot be given them on estates, they must either emigrate or support themselves by cultivation on their own account. No large industry, other than agriculture, except possibly the gold industry in British Guiana, offers any prospect of success. The labouring population is mainly of Negro blood, but there is also, in some of the Colonies, a strong body of East Indian immigrants and their descendants. The Negro is an efficient labourer, for good wages, but he is disinclined to continuous labour for long, and he is often unwilling to work for low wages. He is fond of display, open-handed, careless as to the future, ordinarily good-humoured, but excitable and difficult to manage, especially in large numbers,

when his temper is aroused. The East Indian immigrant, or coolie, is not so strong a workman, but he is a steadier and more reliable labourer than the Negro is. He is economical in his habits, is fond of saving money, and will turn his hand to anything by which he can improve his position. Both the Negro and the coolie like to own small patches of land by which they make their livelihood, and take a pride in their position as landholders, though in some cases they also labour at times on the larger estates, and on the construction and maintenance of roads and other public works. "The existence of a class of small proprietors among the population is a source of both economic and political strength." But the settlement of the labourer on the land has not, as a rule, been favoured by the sugar interest. 'What suited it best was a large supply of labourers, entirely dependent on being able to find work on the estates, and, consequently, subject to control and willing to work for low wages. But

Settlement of the labour-
ing population on the land
should be aimed at. it seems to the Commissioners that no
reform affords so good a prospect for

the permanent welfare in the future of the West Indies as the settlement of the labouring population on the land as small peasant proprietors,' and they think that in many places this is the only system by which the population can in future be supported. The drawbacks from the system are—want of skill and care and the present habit of "prædial larceny," or theft of growing crops, the latter of which will not disappear until such practices are universally condemned by native public opinion, and must in the meantime be dealt with by each Colony as may seem best. Are we to conclude that the Eighth Commandment is not in force in the West Indian Colonies?

While recommending the settlement of the labouring population on the land, the Commissioners see no objection to the system of large estates, when they can be maintained under natural economic conditions. On the contrary, they are convinced that in many places they afford the best, and, sometimes, the only profitable means of cultivating certain products, and that it is not impossible for the two systems to exist side by side with mutual advantage. The Commissioners say :—

"118. It must be recollected that the chief outside influence with which the Governments of certain Colonies have to reckon are the representatives of the sugar estates, that these persons are sometimes not interested in anything but sugar, that the establishment of any other industry is often detrimental to their interests, and that under such conditions it is the special duty of Your Majesty's Government to see that the welfare of the general public is not sacrificed to the interests, or supposed interests, of a small but influential minority, which has special means of enforcing its wishes and bringing its claims to notice."

*Establishment of a Department of Economic Botany
in the West Indies.*

Though the practical work of cultivating new products must be left in the hands of private persons, the Commissioners point out certain directions in which assistance can be given by the State.

"121. The botanical establishments in the larger Colonies, such as Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, have already rendered considerable assistance in improving agricultural industries, and they are capable of being made increasingly useful in this respect. In the Windward and Leeward Islands and Barbado small establishments called botanic stations were established a few years ago on the advice of the Director of Kew Gardens, and the results, though not yet extensive, have been of a distinctly promising character. It is evident that to grapple with the present circumstances, there is required for the smaller islands a special public department, capable of dealing with all questions connected with economic plants suitable for growth in tropical countries, and we recommend the establishment of such a department, under which should be placed the various botanic stations already in existence. These stations should be enlarged in their scope and character, and be organised on the lines found so successful in Jamaica. In the latter Colony it is that intelligent and progressive action in the direction of encouraging a diversity of industries has produced most satisfactory results. To achieve this result has, however, taken more than twenty years of persistent effort, and the Government has spent more than £100,000 during that period on its botanical establishments. The department has distributed seeds and plants at nominal prices by means of the post office, Government railways, and coastal steam service, it has supplied information orally, or by means of bulletins regarding the cultivation of economic plants, and has encouraged the careful preparation of the produce by sending agricultural instructors on tour through the island to give lectures, demonstrations, and advice."

The Commissioners recommend that the special department for carrying on similar work in the Windward and Leeward Islands should be under the charge of a competent Imperial Officer, whose duty it would be to advise the Governors in regard to all matters affecting the agricultural development of the Islands. The existing botanic stations should be placed under his supervision, and the charge of maintaining them transferred to Imperial funds. To do all that is required of these stations would entail expenditure quite beyond the present resources of the smaller islands. Experiments in raising new varieties of canes, and increasing the production of sugar by the use of manures and other means should be continued and receive special attention. The botanic stations would maintain nurseries for the introduction of all new and promising canes, and distribute them within their respective spheres of action. A memorandum by Dr. Morris, containing detailed proposals for the establishment of the new department is included in his subsidiary Report, which is printed at Appendix A to the Commissioners' Report. A caution is given by the Commissioners that for many of the special products of the West Indies, there is only a limited demand. Though there is, for example, a large market for coffee, there is not for arrowroot and nutmegs.

Education :—Elementary, Agricultural and Industrial.

The Commissioners obtained a considerable amount of information on the subject of education in the West Indies, and think that the marked increase of expenditure on that account has been largely successful. The total expenditure increased from about £95,000 in 1882 to nearly £180,000 in 1896, or by about 90 per cent. If the sugar industry fails in British Guiana and in the less flourishing islands, the revenue may be quite unequal to the maintenance of the whole of the existing schools; but it may be hoped that curtailment of expenditure will not be found necessary in Jamaica and Grenada, or probably in Trinidad. Agricultural schools should be attached to some at least of the botanic stations; and elementary training in agriculture might be made a part of the course in public schools generally. "Agriculture, in one form or another, must always be the chief, and the only great industry in the West Indies, but a system of training in other industrial occupations, on a limited scale, is desirable, and would be beneficial to the community."

Establishment of a Trade in Fruit :—Shipping facilities.

The fruit trade between Jamaica and New York has already attained important dimensions, and it seems possible that a similar trade might be established with some of the other islands. If it can be found practicable to send fruit to London the gain to the whole of the West Indies will be very great. There would be no risk of the trade being interfered with by hostile tariffs. If steamers were regularly employed in such a trade, they would carry British products on their return voyage, which would restore to Britain the trade lost by the present diversion to the United States of West Indian sugar and Jamaica fruit. But considerable capital would be required, and there would be risk of loss in the experimental stage; but the Commissioners think the experiment should be tried. The Botanic Department should give instruction in cultivating the proper fruits and packing them. Representations were made to the Commissioners that the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company gives insufficient facilities, and charges excessive rates of freight, for the conveyance of fruit to England and between the Colonies, in return for the large annual subsidy contributed by the Imperial and Colonial Exchequers, and that the crossing of the Atlantic is done too slowly. A mail route *via* New York would suit some of the Colonies better. But the Commissioners think it will be sufficient to suggest that, before the present contract expires, it should be ascertained whether alternative tenders, offering greater advantages, cannot be obtained from other shipping companies,

or that endeavours should be made to obtain from the present contractors a service conducted in a manner better adapted to the more pressing needs of the Colonies.

C.

SUBSIDIARY MEASURES TO PREVENT OR ALLEVIATE THE STRAIN ON THE RESOURCES OF THE COLONIES :—

ECONOMY IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE, &c.

Inter-Communication between the Different Colonies.

The want of cheap, regular, and frequent means of communication between the Islands was specially brought to the notice of the Commissioners in many of the Colonies. It would assist, or even create, trade in local products, tend to remove that condition of isolation which exists at present, and would enable labourers to move freely to the best markets for labour, a result which may soon be of special importance. The Commissioners recommend a double service by two steamers of moderate size, each running from Trinidad to Antigua one week and from Antigua to Trinidad the next, so as to give through communication between all the islands by a weekly service each way. The subsidy required need not be of a very large amount.

Agricultural Banks and State Loans.

" Cheap money " is wanted in the West Indies, as in most other places, and it was urged upon the Commissioners that agriculturalists should be enabled by the assistance of the State to obtain loans of money at a low rate of interest. The Commissioners think that the risk of loss inseparable from such lending business, especially in the present distressed state of the sugar industry accounts for the inability to obtain loans, and the high interest charged. And any system of State loans, or a State guarantee, is so liable to be mismanaged, and so likely to end in the loss of money advanced, that the Commissioners hesitate to recommend its general introduction. The evidence taken in Grenada and elsewhere indicates that the small cultivators are both open-handed and improvident. Taxes are not easily collected, and payment of instalments of the price of Crown lands sold as they fall due, is obtained with difficulty. It should be left to the Governments immediately concerned to move in the matter in the first instance, and the risk of loss should be borne by Colonial resources and not be thrown on the Imperial Exchequer.

Economical Administration and State Borrowing.

As the days of large profits from the sugar industry have passed away, and there is no likelihood of other large indus-

tries soon filling its place, the condition of the mass of the people must be injuriously affected, and the revenue must suffer, depending as it does largely on excise and customs duties. On these and other grounds stated, the Commissioners point out that it is essential that the administration should in the future be carried on as economically as possible; and they are of opinion that the tendency to incur debt for public purposes, which has shown itself in so many countries in recent times, requires to be restrained rather than stimulated in the West Indies. But moderate borrowing for directly reproductive works seems unobjectionable. In some instances works have been carried out, or attempted, from borrowed money which ought to have been paid for out of revenue, or else not undertaken. The local check on expenditure cannot always be relied on, and the Commissioners recommend that a special check be in all cases exercised by the Imperial Government. The control over borrowing for public works should be made as strict as is enforced in the case of British India. Any failure of control may, in the present condition of the West Indian Colonies, result in additional burdens being thrown on the mother country.

Project of West Indian Federation.

The Commissioners have not overlooked the suggestions which have been made for a federation of the West Indian Colonies under a single Governor-General; but they are unable to recommend it, and are doubtful whether any economy would be effected by it. The Colonies are widely scattered, and differ very much in their conditions. Besides other objections, "the absence of any residence for a Governor-General in the several Colonies would, if he were to visit them with any sufficient degree of frequency, and remain in each for periods long enough to enable him to gain a real knowledge of the officials, the people, and the condition of the Colony, make it necessary that he should be furnished with a special vessel and establishment, which would involve a considerable cost. A General Council would also be required." Jamaica, which is more than 800 miles away from the nearest of the other Colonies, would require a separate Governor, and the circumstances of British Guiana and Trinidad almost equally demand the constant presence and attention of an administrator of Governor's rank. But the Commissioners think it might be possible, without disadvantage, to make some reduction in the number of higher officials in the smaller islands, and that the Windward group might be again placed under the Governor of Barbados, as they were for many years previous to 1885, and that one Supreme

Court would be enough for this united group, especially if their recommendations for an improved steamer service were adopted. Dominica also, which, from its physical, social, and industrial conditions, belongs to the Windward, rather than to the Leeward Islands, might be so treated ; and, with improved steam communication, it might be found possible to bring the whole of the Leeward Islands under the same Government as Barbados and the Windwards, and thus effect further economy. It appears that the project the Commissioners are unable to recommend as a whole is for the federation of all the Colonies under a single Governor, and not under a Governor-General, which term is usually understood to mean the controlling head over a group of Governors.

Combined Civil Service for the West Indies.

The proposals which have come to the Commissioners' notice under this head would only nominally affect the many subordinate officials on small salaries, whom it would in practice be impossible to move about. Promotions and transfers, from one Colony to another, of the higher officials, are already freely made by the Secretary of State, when advisable ; and there seems no reason to think that any substantial economy would result from a complete amalgamation. The Commissioners do not, therefore, advocate the proposed change of service.

Having dealt in Part I. of their Report with the general condition of the West Indian possessions as a whole, the prospects of the sugar industry, the consequences, should that industry fail, and the measures to be adopted in view of failure, the Commissioners proceed, in Part II, to take up the case of each Colony separately, and make further recommendations, of local, rather than of general, application.

" 175 The agricultural capabilities and wants of each colony have been dealt with by Dr. Morris in a series of separate reports on British Guiana and your Majesty's West Indian Islands, and it will not, therefore, be necessary for us to enter into the question of the resources of each possession as fully as would otherwise have been the case. Dr. Morris' reports are printed in Appendix A., and are available for reference by those who wish for fuller information than is given in this part of our Report."

With this Part of the Report, which occupies 39 pages, or with Dr. Morris' report, we are unable to deal in the present article.

PART III.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND SUMMARY.

i.—Obligations of the Mother Country.

Under this head the Commissioners say :—

" 510. In Parts I and II of our Report we have expressed the opinion that the sugar industry in the West Indies is in danger of practical extinction, that no industry or series of industries can, in the space of a few years, supply its place, and that some of the Colonies will, for a time, be unable to meet the necessary and unavoidable cost of administration, including payments on account of the public debt. We have also recommended the adoption of measures having for their object the substitution of other industries for the cultivation of the sugar-cane" (the production of cane-sugar ?), and the general amelioration of the economic condition of the people, as well as the relief of the distress which must arise in many places.

" 511 The carrying out of our recommendations must involve the expenditure yearly of a considerable sum of money which the Colonies will, in their altered condition, be unable to provide. The more depressed the condition of any Colony may be, the greater will be its need for additional funds, and the less will be its ability to raise them from its own resources, and we consider that in one form or another pecuniary sacrifices by the mother country on behalf of the West Indian Colonies are inevitable."

The nature of the relations between a mother country and such dependencies as these Colonies affords justification for this view, but the Commissioners draw attention to peculiar circumstances which they consider impose a special and an unusually strong obligation upon the Home Government. "The black population of these Colonies was originally placed in them by force as slaves ; the race was kept up and increased under artificial conditions, maintained by the authority of the British Government." Being responsible for their presence in the Colonies, and their condition at the time we emancipated them, we could not, by the single act of freeing them, divest ourselves of responsibility for their future. For generations the mass of the population must remain dependent upon British influence for good Government ; and for the maintenance of the progress they have made hitherto we cannot abandon them. The failure of private enterprise on the part of white men may render it difficult for the British Government to discharge its obligations to the labouring population ; it will not diminish the force of them. Another consideration ought not, the Commissioners say, to be overlooked. The distress and difficulties of Government, now beginning to be felt, will be due to the failure of the sugar industry. But the very causes of the failure have made sugar very much cheaper to the British consumer.

" We cannot overlook the fact that the British people have been reaping great benefit from precisely that set of circumstances which has been a factor in bringing the West Indies to the verge of serious disaster."

" 515. In our opinion, this makes it impossible for your Majesty's Government to take a narrow view of the question, and, if the British people not

only have gained but continue to gain probably more than two millions sterling yearly from the cheapening of sugar by bounties, this fact is a strong reason why they should be generous in discharging the obligations of the mother country to those dependencies which suffer so severely from the operation of the bounty system."

ii.—The United States Market.

Some witnesses complained to the Commissioners that the Colonies had been hampered (by the mother country) in making advantageous commercial arrangements with the United States. Notwithstanding the failure of negotiations with the United States in 1884-85, the Commissioners are not convinced that much harm has been done in this direction, for on the most recent opportunity the Colonies were able to make special terms with the States for the admission of their sugar free. The benefits, however, of this arrangement were not so great as was expected, and the agreement was soon put an end to by a change of policy in the United States. But hardship may arise in the future.

"The question of special reciprocal tariff arrangements has been re-opened by the provision made in the Revenue Law of the United States (in 1897) by which the President is empowered to enter into commercial treaties with countries willing to give advantages to the trade of the United States, and in return for such advantages to grant a reduction by 20 per cent. of the duties imposed by the act.

"523. The United States is the nearest and therefore, in one sense, the natural market for West Indian produce. It may be that in time the United States, either by the development of their own beet industry, or in other ways, will succeed in supplying their own market and so cease to take or to need West Indian sugar. But at present this is not so; and perhaps may not be so for a long time.

In the meantime, therefore, the British Government should take care that no provisions in Imperial treaties remain which could cause the loss of the United States market to the West Indian Colonies, if these can be cut out without disproportionate loss to the Empire. It would be very unfortunate if, now that West Indian sugar is losing the British market, the Colonies were to be excluded from actual or possible markets elsewhere; and the Commissioners foresee serious political difficulty if such exclusions were to be the direct consequence of the Imperial connexion.

iii.—Danger of Depending on a Single Industry.

The recommendations involving expenditure by the mother country, made by the Commissioners, are of such a nature that they should, in their opinion, be carried out, even if the sugar interest were temporarily restored to a condition of prosperity. It is never satisfactory, they say, for any country to be entirely dependent upon one industry. This statement applies with special force to the dependence of the West Indian Colonies upon the sugar industry, which collects a population upon the land greater than can be employed or supported in the same area by any other form of cultivation, and

unfits the people for any other kind of cultivation. This dependence upon one industry is still more dangerous in Colonies obliged to import coolie labour. Not only is there a yearly charge on the revenue to meet the cost of immigration, but a liability for back passages is incurred, which a failure of the industry would leave the Colony without funds to meet.

The Commissioners say the sugar interest has had special means of influencing the Colonial Governments, and of putting pressure on the Home Government to secure attention to its views and wishes. Its representatives have seldom turned their attention to any other cultivation, except when the sugar industry ceased to be profitable. The settlement of the labouring population on the land, and the encouragement of the products and forms of cultivation suitable for peasant proprietors have formed no part of their policy ; "such measures were generally believed to be opposed to their interests which they regarded, no doubt, as identical with the best interests of the community, and, in at least some of the Colonies, met with opposition at their hands. If a different policy had found favour, the condition of the West Indies might have been much less serious than it is at present, in view of the probable failure of the sugar industry." So long as these Colonies remain dependent upon sugar their position can never be sound or secure.

iv.—The Cost of Relief.

Should there be so complete a failure of the sugar industry as appears probable, some of the Colonies will be unable to meet the cost of administration, and their engagements with the East Indian immigrants. In those which depend almost entirely on sugar the establishment of alternative industries in time to provide employment and save the revenue is improbable, and were they established, in such islands as Barbados, St. Kitts and Antigua, the population would be redundant. "The revenue may be permanently lower than at present, and the administration must be carried on in a more economical manner, and, probably, with some loss of efficiency. The islands which are in the best position are Grenada, Jamaica, and Trinidad, and the Commissioners do not anticipate that either of the latter two will require special assistance from the Home Government ; the amount of assistance the other Colonies will require they find themselves unable to estimate. But they have no hesitation in recommending that the Home Government should undertake to meet for a period of ten years the cost of the Botanic Department and botanic stations, which they have proposed should be established, and in this assistance Grenada, though somewhat better off, should share. The total cost may be placed at £9,700 for Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbados, St.

Lucia, Dominica, Montserrat, Antigua, and St. Kitts Nevis.* This Department should be administered by one Imperial officer, who would also act as consulting officer to the Colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, when they wished to obtain the benefit of his advice. The nine islands above-named already maintain botanic stations at their own cost, with the exception of Tobago, and the Commissioners recommend they should be relieved of this, which amounts to about £3,200 a year. The assumption of the whole cost would obviate divided control, which, in the interest of efficient administration, is desirable. The yearly cost of the Imperial officer with his assistant and office, and including provision for the publication of papers on subjects of practical interest, may be taken at £2,700.

The Commissioners recommend also a grant for experimental cultivation of sugar-cane and another grant for the teaching of scientific agriculture in existing schools. The cost of subsidising steamers for inter-Colonial communication, and for the carriage of fruit to New York should also be borne by the Home Government. There is no other source for the necessary funds. The total annual cost to the Home Government of the Commissioners recommendations in connexion with the Botanic Department, scientific agricultural education and subsidies to steamers, will amount to £27,000†. The steamer subsidies should be granted in the first instance for

*From Dr. Morris' Report it appears that this sum is made up as follows :—

| | 2 |
|-----------------|-------|
| Tobago | 500 |
| Grenada | 730 |
| St. Vincent | 1,500 |
| St. Lucia | 1,230 |
| Barbados | 1 500 |
| Dominica | 1,500 |
| Montserrat | 500 |
| Antigua | 1,000 |
| St. Kitts Nevis | 1,240 |

9,700

†From Dr. Morris's Report it appears that this sum is made up as follows

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>Botanic Department.</i> | £ |
|----------------------------|---|

| | | |
|--|-----|-------|
| Head Office | ... | 2,200 |
| 9 Botanic Stations and 4 Industrial Schools | .. | 9,700 |
| Sugar-cane experiments at British Guiana | .. | 1,000 |
| Horticultural shows, exhibition of implements, &c. | .. | 500 |
| Printing bulletins, and leaflets and distribution | .. | 500 |
| Grants to elementary schools for teaching agriculture, &c. | | 500 |
| Grants to Colleges and schools for teaching scientific agriculture | | 2,600 |

All steamer subsidies

17,000

10,000

Total 27,000

only five years ; but the assistance for the Botanic and Agriculture Education Department should be granted for ten years. After ten years the Imperial Government should be free to reduce, or abolish altogether, the amount of assistance given.

In Part II. of their Report the Commissioners have recommended that money should be lent by the Home Government for the establishment of central factories. A loan of £120,000 is thought to be enough, and it is hoped it will not be a permanent burden. The assistance so far recommended should be given unconditionally ; but some of the islands may require further help to enable them to avoid bankruptcy, or to relieve distress, deal with the East Indian immigrants, make roads, settle the labouring population on the land, or promote emigration. In such cases certain conditions should be made before granting loans. The Commissioners cannot make a complete estimate of what assistance may be required, but a considerable amount will be required in any case, and they recommend grants to certain islands for the immediate liquidation of floating debts, amounting to £60,000 : 4 per cent. is at present paid, and it would be cheaper to pay off the debts now than hereafter to supply the Colonies with money to pay interest at that rate and also to repay instalments of the principal. Also in certain islands the revenue does not at present equal the expenditure, and £20,000 a year may be required for some time to equalise it.

" 545. The Government of St. Vincent will require a grant to enable it to take possession of some of the existing sugar estates and to allot them to negro cultivators, and Dominica should receive a grant to enable it to open up communication with some portion of the most fertile and most accessible lands which are at present uncultivated."

"The special grants to St. Vincent and Dominica may amount to £30,000. Both St. Vincent and Dominica may require to incur some expenditure to enable them to start banana cultivation, though we are not without hopes that this may be done by unassisted private enterprise when it is known that steamers will be ready to carry the fruit to New York.

" 546. Barbados and British Guiana have larger populations and are no doubt wealthier Colonies, but their prosperity so greatly depends upon sugarcane cultivation at the present time, that any serious reduction of that industry might throw a very heavy burden on the mother country. We are not in a position to estimate the amount, or to say what the expenditure in British Guiana in connexion with the immigrants might amount to. In Antigua it is almost certain that expenditure must be incurred in the relief of distress, and in that island as well as in Barbados and St. Kitts the question of assisting emigration may become one of great urgency."

The question of emigration is extremely difficult to deal with now. The failure of the sugarcane will reduce the demand for labour in all the islands, and it is not easy to see to what other countries West Indian Emigration could be successfully directed. In Trinidad and British Guiana there are now large quantities of land available for settlement, but under the circumstances emigration is likely to be slow, while

the process will involve much hardship and be attended with many difficulties, which the subsidised lines of steamers will no doubt alleviate.

V. Summary of Conclusions.

In paragraph 548 of the Report the Commissioners submit a summary of their conclusions, which we here abridge :

- a.* The sugar industry in the West Indies is in danger of great reduction, in some Colonies equivalent or almost so to extinction.
- b.* The depression of the industry is due to the competition of other sugar-producing countries and in a special degree also to high protective of bounty-fed beet sugar : tariffs and consequent competition of cane sugar from other countries. The causes of the depression are permanent.
- c.* The removal of extravagance in management, of imperfection in manufacture, and inadequate supervision consequent on absentee ownership, would not enable the industry, generally, to be profitably carried on. Bad manufacture is common, but even estates equipped with the best machinery suffer from the depression ; and on other estates it is thought hopeless to adopt improvements. Where, owing to local causes, large factories with the best machinery cannot be established, the industry can be restored only if special advantages in soil, climate, and labour supply exist.
- d.* The depression is causing, and will cause, sugar estates to be abandoned, which is causing and will cause distress among the labouring population, including many East Indian immigrants, and will seriously affect for a considerable time the general prosperity of the sugar-producing Colonies.
- e.* There is no industry or industries that could completely and profitably replace sugar in Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts. In Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and to some extent in Montserrat and Nevis, the sugar industry may in time be replaced by other industries, but not soon, and at the cost of much displacement of labour and consequent suffering. In Dominica the sugar industry is not now of great importance. The Colonies will be in a much sounder position, both politically and economically, when they have ceased to depend wholly, or mainly, on a single industry.

- f.* The condition of the labouring classes, and the revenue of the Colonies would be very seriously affected by the total or partial extinction of the sugar industry. The loss of revenue could be, to a limited extent, met in some Colonies by economies. Some Colonies would require subventions from the mother country, to enable them to meet the cost of administration, including relief of distress and repatriation of East Indian immigrants. Jamaica, Trinidad, and Grenada may be expected to meet the exigencies of the crisis from their own resources.
- g.* The best remedy for all this would be the abandonment of the bounty system by Continental nations. Looking, however, to the apparent policy of the United States of America, to the great cheapening of beet sugar, and to the tendency of money currencies to artificially stimulate the sugar industry, it is not clear that if bounties were abolished, another crisis of a similar character might not arise in the West Indies at a future day.
- h.* A remedy advocated by interested witnesses in the Colonies was countervailing duties on the import of bounty-fed sugar to the United Kingdom. The majority do not support this course : the Chairman does.
- i.* The special remedies or measures of relief unanimously recommended are—
 - (1). The settlement of the labouring population on small plots of land as peasant proprietors.
 - (2). The establishment of minor agricultural industries, and the improvement of the system of cultivation, especially in the case of small proprietors.
 - (3). The improvement of the means of communication between the different islands.
 - (4). The encouragement of a trade in fruit with New York, and possibly, at a future time, with London.
 - (5). The grant of a loan from the Imperial Exchequer for the establishment of central factories in Barbados.

The subject of emigration from the distressed tracts also requires the careful attention of the various Governments, though the Commissioners do not find themselves in a position to make recommendations in detail.

- j.* The Commissioners estimate the cost of the special measures recommended in (2), (3) and (4) of *i*, at £27,000 a year for ten years, the expenditure to be

borne by the mother country. They estimate the amount of the loan to Barbados for the erection of central factories at £120,000. "This measure no doubt involves the risk of loss."

Grants will be required in Dominica and St. Vincent for roads and to enable the settlement of the labouring population on the land to be carried out, and this amount may be taken at £30,000. A further grant of about £60,000 is required to clear off the floating debt in some of the smaller islands.

In addition, the smaller islands should receive grants to enable them to meet their ordinary expenditure of an obligatory nature. The amount may be placed at £20,000 a year for five years, and possibly a reduced amount for a further period of five years.

"The expenditure which we are able to estimate may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) A grant of £27,000 a year for ten years.
- (2) A grant of £20,000 a year for five years.
- (3) Immediate grants of £60,000, and £30,000, or £90,000 in all.
- (4) A loan of £120,000 to Barbados for the establishment of central factories.

k. "As to the amount of expenditure which it may be necessary to incur in relieving distress (especially in British Guiana and Barbados), in promoting emigration, and in supporting and repatriating East Indian immigrants, we are unable at the present time to form any estimate, but it might be very great, if there occurred a sudden and general failure of the sugar industry in Barbados and British Guiana, where the population is comparatively large, and the people depend greatly upon the cultivation of the sugarcane. In such a contingency neither British Guiana nor Barbados would be able to meet the necessary cost of administration for, probably, a considerable number of years."

VI.—Concluding Observations.

Various representations or complaints were brought before the Commissioners which were beyond the scope of the inquiry, but yet deserved notice. In a few instances these were brought under the notice of the Governments concerned, as were other representations recorded in the appendices to the Report.

In para. 553, the Commissioners say:—

"We have had in the course of this Report to refer frequently to the very interesting and valuable survey supplied by Dr. Morris of the agricultural resources and requirements of the Colonies visited by us, which forms appendix

A in this volume. Dr. Morris's presence with the Commission has been of great advantage to us : no adviser could have been assigned better qualified, both by general and local knowledge, to assist and inform us in regard to botanical and agricultural questions. The Report which he has prepared bears witness to the closeness of his study of these questions, and the assiduity with which he has collaborated throughout the course of our inquiry to further the purposes of the Commission."

And in para. 554 they say :—

"The subject and nature of our inquiry were such as to throw a heavy burden of continuous work and responsibility on the Secretary of the Commission, Mr. Sydney Olivier, to whom we desire our acknowledgments for his zealous and efficient discharge of the duties of his office."

In closing their Report the Commissioners express strong sympathy with the planters, who have struggled against very adverse circumstances to maintain the sugar industry, and with the very numerous persons who depend directly or indirectly upon that industry, and have suffered severely from its decay.

"555. Our own task," they say, "has been of a discouraging nature. Our duty has been to inquire into the condition of a depressed and failing industry, and to consider if any means are possible for restoring and maintaining the prosperity of those Colonies that depend upon it, and, in any case, to suggest the establishment of other industries which might supplement the cultivation of sugarcane, and, in case of need, provide means of subsistence for the people. Our conclusions will, no doubt, disappoint many who have looked for some immediate and substantial relief, but, with the most sincere wish to do all in our power to help the West Indian community, we have not felt ourselves able to make other recommendations than those which we now humbly submit for your Majesty's gracious consideration."

ART. IV.—THE ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS :

Held at Paris, September 5-12, 1897.

IT was decided at the Geneva International Oriental Congress that the next meeting should take place in Paris in the year 1897. The scholars of Paris took all the necessary steps, and the Congress was held : it is proposed now to state what was done.

As far back as May, 1896, notice was given by a circular, and the names of those who proposed to be members were asked for. The dates fixed were September 5-12, 1897. A scheme of organisation was propounded as follows :—

SECTION I.

Aryan Language and Archæology, with three Sub-sections :

1. Indian.
2. Irán.
3. Linguistic.

SECTION II.

Languages and Archæology of the Extreme Orient, with two Sub-sections :

1. China and Japan.
2. Indo-China, Malaysia, Polynesia.

SECTION III.

Mahometan Languages and Archæology.

SECTION IV.

Semitic Languages and Archæology, with two Sub-sections :

1. Aramaic, Hebrew, Phœnician, Ethiopian.
2. Assyrian.

SECTION V.

Egypt and African Languages.

SECTION VI.

The East ; Greece ; Relation of Hellenism with the East ; Byzantium.

SECTION VII.

Ethnography, Folklore of the East.

In February, 1897, a second circular was issued, and notice was given that the President of the French Republic was Protector of the Congress, and the King of Sweden, the Prince of Wales and Archduke Renier of Austria had accepted the office of Presidents of Honour. The names of Members of Honour were mentioned. It was notified, that Committees had been appointed in every European country, and that the Government of British India had consented to send Delegates. Members of the Congress were invited to communicate the titles of

the papers which they proposed to present to the Congress ; and it was determined to prepare a summary of the progress of knowledge of the subject in each Section which had been achieved since the Geneva Congress of 1894. Notice was also given that a permanent Commission was occupied in revising the Fundamental Statutes under which these Congresses were held. The facilities offered by railways and steamboat companies were notified.

In July, 1897, Circular No. 3 was issued, with important details, not necessary to mention here. Full lists were given of the Presidents of Honour, the Members of Honour, the Delegates from Foreign Governments, the Delegates from Learned Societies. It was announced, that the Meetings would be held in the College of France, and the Sorbonne ; that there would be a certain number of receptions and banquets, and, lastly, a list was published of the Communications to the Congress, which had been notified.

When the Congress met on September 5th, a Provisory Project, No. 4, for the emendation of the Fundamental Statutes, was placed in the hands of every member, that he might be prepared to decide upon this important subject before the Congress closed.

There were about 700 Members, and more than 400 were present in Paris. In each branch there were the leading Orientalists in their speciality. There were a few *bonâ-fide* Orientals also, from Algiers, Turkey, China, Japan. M. Rambaud, the Minister for Public Education, presided at the opening Meeting, and M. Schefer, the President of the Congress, delivered his opening address.

I here notice the names of the illustrious Scholars who formed the Commission of Organisation :

SECTION I.

1. MM. Barth, Breal, Senart, Vinson.
2. MM. Carrière, Dieulafoy, Drouin, Blochet.
3. MM. Boyer, Henri, Specht.

SECTION II.

1. MM. Cordier, Deveria, Guimet, De Rosny, Specht.
2. MM. Aymonier, Bonet, Marié.

SECTION III.

MM. Barbier de Meynard, Derenbourg, Hondas, Schefer.

SECTION IV.

1. MM. Berger, Rubens Duval, De Vogüé.
2. MM. Heuzey, Oppert, Quentin, Thureau-Dangin.

SECTION V.

MM. Guieyesse, Hanoteau, Lafébre, Loret, Maspero, Pierret.

SECTION VI.

MM. Bikélas, Legrand, Schlumberger.

SECTION VII.

MM. Prince Roland Bonaparte, Hamy, De Rialle.

Many old scholars and students, who had attended several of the previous Congresses in the different Capitals of Europe, were proud to inscribe their names as Members of the Paris Congress, but owing to illness or infirmity were unable to attend. Among their number was the writer of this Report, who, however, sent two daughters to represent him, as full members.

The President, in his address on September 6th, notified the following additional names to the list already given of Presidents of Honour :

1. The Shah of Persia.
2. The Grand Duke Constantine of Russia.
3. Prince Kan-Wu of China.
4. The Khedive of Egypt.

He dwelt with satisfaction on the vast progress which had been made in Oriental knowledge since the first of the eleven Congresses met in Paris nearly twenty-five years ago, and, though his name was not mentioned, the scholar who suggested the idea, and was President of the first Congress held at Paris, Professor Leon de Rosny, was present, and science owes him a special debt of gratitude. The idea seems so simple now, but it was a novel, grand, and difficult conception then, as I well recollect.

The first Section met and finally constituted its *personelle* : President of Section, Lord Reay ; Vice-Presidents, Hofrath G. Bühler, Professor Fischel, and Professor Kern.

In the Indian Sub-section M. Senart presented a paper by M. Foncher, who was absent in India, on the "Itinerary of Hiouen Thsang in the Province of Gandhāra." Professor Oldenberg, of Kiel, presented a paper entitled "Taine's Essay upon the Buddhist Conception." Notices were given of several papers for next day, September 7th.

In the Iranic Sub-section M. Hubschmann, Professor of Strasbourg, was elected President, and M. Esoff, of Russia, Vice-President. No business was transacted.

In the Linguistic Sub-section, Count Gubernátis was elected President, and MM. Kretschmer and Oulianoff, Vice-Presidents.

In Section II, China and Japan Sub-section, His Excellency Tching Tchang was elected President, and MM. Tomi, Schlegel, and Douglas, Vice-Presidents. No business was transacted, but notice was given of papers for the following day.

In the Indo-China and Malaysia Sub-section, Professor Kern was elected President, and General H. Brown, Delegate of Burma, and Professor St. John, of Oxford, were elected Vice-

Presidents. M. Aymonier made a communication on the subject of the date of a King of Cambodia, which led to a discussion in which several scholars took part. M. Marré gave picturesque details regarding Malagási Songs.

In Section III, Professor de Goeje was elected President, and MM. Karabácek and Radloff, were elected Vice-Presidents. A discussion took place, on the initiative of Professor Bevan, of Cambridge, on the meaning of the word "Zendib," supposed to mean, in Arabic, "Heretic." No other subject was discussed.

In Section IV, Sub-section Semitic, Professor Ignazio Guidi was elected President, and Professor Kautzsch, of Halle, and Professor Lami of Louvain, were elected Vice-Presidents. One or two matters were brought forward, such as a Report on Syriac Studies, the exhibition of a fragment of the Ecclesiastes in Hebrew, and a Report on Ethiopian Studies.

In Sub-section Assyrian, M. Tiele was elected President, and MM. Pinches, Hommel, and Haupt were elected Vice-Presidents.

In Section V, M. Ed. Naville, the late President of the Tenth Oriental Congress at Geneva, 1894, was elected President, and MM. Lieblein and Erman were elected Vice-Presidents. M. René Basset, of Algeria, read a paper on the Riff Language of North Africa, and M. Erman made a communication on the subject of a proposed Thesaurus of Egyptian words which is in course of publication under the auspices of the German Government. This work would comprise all the words contained in Hieroglyphic, or Hieratic, Manuscripts. Demotic, or Koptic, words would be admitted only when required for purposes of comparison. The Superintending Committee of this important work consists of the Academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, and Munich; and it is hoped that the material will be ready in 1904, the Text definitely settled in 1908, and the printing completed in 1913. Some discussion followed this communication. Notice was given of papers to be read on subsequent days of the Meeting.

In Section VI, M. Bikélas was elected President, and MM. Krumbacker and Strzgowzsky were elected Vice-Presidents. The President disclaimed any right to be called a Scholar, but he was a Greek, and, as Greece had often been a link of union betwixt the East and West, he willingly accepted the office, and hoped that some future Congress might be held at Athens. Two communications were made on the progress of Byzantine Philology.

In Section VII, M. Vambéry was elected President, and MM. De Gubernátis, Radloff, De Claparède, and Valdemar-Schmidt were elected Vice-Presidents. The President read a Report on the Commission of Ethnography and Folklore, and dwelt on

the importance of the subject. Dr. Kunos read a paper on the popular songs of the Osmánli Turks. Notice was given of papers to be read at future Meetings.

This closed the proceedings of Monday, the 6th of September, and the Congress was now fairly launched.

On Tuesday, September 7th, at 9-30 A.M., the following Sections met :

Section I, Sub-section India.—Mr. Robert Sewell, late of the Indian Civil Service, read a paper, "Some points in the Archæology of South India." MM. Ludwig, Bergess, and Bühler, discussed this subject, and a wish was expressed that Dr. Pope, a retired Missionary of South India, would publish certain interesting Essays which he had prepared.

M. Geiger read a paper on "The Vaddas and their Language," followed by a discussion, in which MM. Wickremasinghe, Pischel, Ludwig, and Rhys Davids and Lord Reay took a part.

M. Pullé made a communication on an ancient Map of India, followed by MM. Sylvain Levi, Bühler, and De Gubernátis ; and the Sub-section decided that a request should be made to the different Geographical Societies and the India Office to publish a chronological classification of the Maps prepared at different dates of the different countries in the East.

Sub-section Iran.—M. Kirste offered to the Section reproductions of six Alphabets of the Zend Language.

M. Jackson brought to notice the numerous resemblances between the epic legends of India and Ancient Persia, especially in their religious details.

M. Jackson then proposed a new interpretation of a portion of an inscription of King Darius, which was vigorously disputed by M. Oppert. M. Casartelli presented a photograph of a Pehlavi inscription, not previously made known. M. Msériantz described the principal features of a book, which he had lately published on the Armenian language spoken at Mouch.

The Indian Sub-section met again the same day at 2-15 P.M.

M. Grosset presented the first volume of a critical edition of a work called "Bháratiya-nátya-Shástra," which led to some discussion.

M. Hardy made a communication on certain legends in Buddhaghosa's "Monórathapúrani." This led to a considerable discussion, in which MM. Rhys Davids, Ludwig, Jackson, Kuhn, Leumann, Winternitz, Pulle, Sir R. West and Lord Reay successively expressed their opinions.

The Sub-section expressed its regret at the absence from the Congress of the great Scholars, Weber of Berlin, Cowell of Cambridge, Ascoli of Milan, and Fausböll of Copenhagen.

Professor Rhys Davids introduced the subject of the Páli Text Society.

Sub-section Linguistic.—M. Kretschmer described two new Phrygian inscriptions. M. Breál pointed out that from these inscriptions no evidence could be produced of the alleged Indo-European character of the Phrygian language. M. Kretschmer drew attention to more particular proofs in other inscriptions.

MM. Gubernátis, Kuhn, Halévy, and Merlet further discussed the subject of the Indo-European character of the different Languages of Asia Minor.

M. Breál brought before the Sub-section the primitive meaning of the word *σάφους*, which appeared to have been "sweet." M. Halévy remarked that, in Hebrew, the word *sáph* was applied to the juice of a plant, and also to honeycombs. Several scholars brought forward other considerations.

Section II, Sub-section China and Japan, met on Tuesday at 10 A.M. M. Brucher made a communication on the subject of the inscription of Si-an-Fu, and presented a pamphlet by M. Hauret on the subject. M. Chevalier made a communication on the subject of a town in Korea. M. Courant read a paper on Korean and Japanese Studies.

The same Sub-section met at 3-15 P.M.

M. Courant read a paper on the Political Transformations of Japan.

Section III met the same day at 9-15 A.M.

M. Kampffmeyer read a paper on the Dialects of the Arabic Languages, comparing certain modern forms with the Himyarite, and suggested that a special Commission should be formed with a view of gathering information from the authorities in the different countries where Arabic was spoken.

Section IV, Semitic Sub-section.—The subject of Dr. Glaser's inscriptions found in South Arabia was mentioned, but not fully discussed. Dr. Glaser claimed 500 B.C. as the date. On no one subject was there any discussion, but brief communications were made by several speakers.

Assyrian Sub-section.—M. Hommel made a communication on the pictorial origin of the Cuneiform written character.

M. Halévy remarked on the perfect Semitic features of certain texts to which a date of 4000 B.C. is assigned. This led to a discussion on the Sumerian subject, in which several great scholars took part.

Section V.—M. Moret read his Report on the progress of Egyptian studies since the last Congress in 1894.

M. Naville presented to the Congress the first volume of the Notes recorded by Professor Lepsius during his stay in Egypt, and expressed a wish that an Index should be published of the Notices recorded by Champollion during his sojourn in Egypt.

M. Naville read a paper on the last lines of the Stela of Menepthah, in which occurs the name "Israel." He proposed

an interpretation essentially different from that of the earlier translators. MM. Lieblein and Daressy made remarks on this subject.

In Section VI M. Franz Cumont read a lengthy paper on the subject of the prevalence of the religion known as Masdeism in Asia Minor. He traced its existence to Cappadocia, Lydia, Phrygia, and in Galatia. Its existence can be carried back to the time of the Achæmenian Sovereigns, and the Hellenic Conquest was not prejudicial to it. There were essential differences between the form, in which it appeared in Asia Minor, and the form recorded in the Avesta. M. C. Dichl read a paper on the ceremonial of the Court of the Byzantine Emperors. Other subjects were discussed of less interest.

In Section VII there was no business of importance.

In Section III of the day under report, M. Goldziher read a report on the steps taken to compile a Mahometan Encyclopædia. M. de Goege proposed that a Commission should be appointed to examine this Report, which was distributed among the Members on the following day. I notice it once for all now.

At the London Congress of 1892 the late Mr. Robertson Smith expressed the general opinion, that the time had come to compile an Encyclopædia to collect in one focus all that is necessary to know on the subject of the Mahometans in the East, at the high level of our present knowledge. Something of the same kind did appear two centuries ago, known as the "Bibliothèque Orientale" of M. D'Herbelot, which, after passing through a succession of amplifying Editions, is now out of date. The want of such an Encyclopædia was felt both by scholars and the general public.

At the Geneva Congress, 1894, the subject was again brought under consideration, and M. Goldziher was entrusted with the task of organising the preparation of this work. He now reported progress:

- (1). The first point was to choose a group of collaborators ; and this has been effected, or very nearly so.
- (2). The second point was to secure a publisher ; and M. Brill, the well-known publisher at Leyden, has consented to discharge the task.
- (3). A programme was formed, composed of seven sections, in all of which the information will be recorded alphabetically, and an index has been formed of the subjects which make up the sections.
- (4). The constitution of a permanent Commission, as the work must necessarily be spread over many years, and include one or two triennial Congress periods.

The Section decided to appoint a permanent Commission to

arrange details for starting this work, and for superintendence of it during its progress, consisting of MM. Barbier de Meynard of Paris, Browne of Cambridge, Goldziher of Buda Pest, De Goeje of Leyden, Guidi of Rome, Karabáček of Vienna, Landsberg of Sweden, Rosen of St. Petersburg, Socin of Leipzig, Stoppelaar of the firm of Messrs. Brill at Leyden, with power of adding to their number.

Section I met on Wednesday, September 8th.

Indian Sub-section.—M. Waddell made a communication on the subject of "The newly excavated Græco Buddhist Sculptures from the Swat Valley." Attention was called by M. Senart to the perfection and novelty of the Photographical exhibits, which M. Waddell presented. A discussion ensued, and a proposition was carried to express the wish of the Congress that the Government of India would take measures (1) to protect from ill-usage the Archæological treasures, and (2) to publish an account of them.

M. Winternitz made a communication on the MSS. of the Maha Bhárata, and a discussion ensued on the necessity of a critical edition being published in Europe.

Iranian Sub-section.—M. Oppert discussed the names and the succession of the months in the Old Persian calendar, deriving all his arguments from the inscriptions, and rejecting all other methods.

Mr. Drouin described historically the discovery of the Pehlavi inscriptions.

In the afternoon the Sub-section India met again. Professor Gubernátis made a communication on the subject of the Hindu god Brahma, and the goddess Savitri.

M. Finot read an abstract of a work prepared for the Congress by M. Foncher, on the subject of the "Itinerary of Hiouen Tshang in the Province of Gandhára." MM. Stein and Bühler spoke on the same subject.

Sub-section Linguistic.—Abbé Rousselet gave an account of the Research of Experimental Phonetics, and pointed out the service which this discovery might render to the Study of Language. Count Pullé remarked that similar researches were being made in Italy. M. Breal informed the Sub-section, that the Phonetic laboratory of the College of France was always open to students of all nationalities.

Section II, China and Japan Sub-section; 10 A.M. The Secretary exhibited the first portion of a Chinese Biographical Dictionary by Mr. H. Giles.

Sub-section Indo-China; 9 A.M. M. Lemire presented an Annamite Grammar, prepared by a native Professor of languages at Saigon.

MM. Trung Vink Ry and Aymonier presented a volume on "Cambodia and its Monuments."

M. Lemire read a communication from M. Petruský, on "Indo-China in Past and Present years."

Mr. St. John requested the Congress to urge upon the Government of British Burmah the importance of inquiry as to the location of the ancient cities of the Province, and to entrust with this duty competent persons. M. Kern warmly supported this proposal, and it was carried.

M. Bonet presented specimens of the Dictionary of the French-Annamite language in the Chinese and local forms of written character : this will be a most important work.

Sub-section China and Japan ; 2-10 P.M. M. Martin Fortris brought before the Congress certain propositions regarding the transcription of Chinese. The first article of his scheme was accepted ; the second led to a discussion, which eventuated in the appointment of a Commission.

Section III 9-45 A.M. M. Machuel read a paper on the system of Public Education of the Mahometans in Algeria.

Si Mahmoud ben Mahmoud, Inspector of Schools in Tunisia, presented a paper on the advantages of science.

M. Roy offered the Congress a portion of the new edition of the Analytical Catalogue of the Library of the great Mosque of Tunis.

The section met again at 2-15 P.M. M. Rabbath read a paper on a new method of teaching Arabic prosody. M. Rouhi el Khalidi presented copies of the "Review of Islam," comprising his article on the statistics of Islam. A wish was expressed for a statistical detail of the sects of Islam.

M. Sultan Mahommed Effendi delivered an address in the Arabic Language on the inventions made by the Arabian race before the time of Mahomet.

Section IV, Semitic Sub-section ; 9-30 A.M.—The Marquis De Vogüé exhibited ninety plates of the third portion (the Aramean) of the First Volume of the Corpus of Semitic inscriptions. They included the inscriptions of Petra and Mount Sinai.

M. Chabot, Member of the Council of the Société Asiatique, described the great service rendered by that Society in the Publication of Oriental works. Discussion took place on the subject of some of the other communications made by members of the Section. Allusion was made to a proposed Supplement to the Ethiopic Dictionary prepared by the late Professor Dillmann, and the Section expressed its hope, that all the notes and lexicographical papers, left by that illustrious scholar, should be made accessible to scholars by being printed.

Sub-section Assyriology ; 2 P.M.—M. Haupt announced that Mr. Cyrus Adler, of Washington, proposed to prepare a complete Bibliography of Assyriology down to 1890, and he asked for collaborators. Other communications were made.

Section V ; 9-30 A.M.—Professor Naville produced a wooden box found in late excavations and covered with carvings, which differed entirely from the usual specimens of Egyptian art. M. Naville was of opinion that it was a specimen of Phœnician workmanship and was probably of the date of the Eighteenth Dynasty. MM. Pleyte, Erman and Daressy joined in the discussion.

Professor Lieblein made a communication on several points of chronology. M. J. de Rougé regretted that he could not accept the views of Professor Lieblein, and he remarked that the only reign, which by its length could correspond with that of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, was that of Rameses II.

The Section met again at 2 P.M. M. Textor de Ravisi read a paper on Egyptian poetry. M. Naville urged the speaker to press M. Grebaut to complete his work on Egyptian metrical science, which he had had so many years in hand. M. Moret read his Report upon the work of Egyptian excavations. M. Naville congratulated him on the work achieved.

M. René Basset read a paper on African studies.

Section VI ; 9-30 A.M.—Nothing worth noticing.

Section VII ; 9-45 A.M.—M. Hamy made a communication on the Stone Age in Indo-China, and described late discoveries : the interest being in the proof thence acquired of the relationship betwixt the ancient inhabitants of Malaysia and Indo-China.

A discussion arose, in which many members took part, on the origin of "jade," and the opinion was hazarded, that, admitting that jade-mines existed only in Europe, still there were deposits of jade in North Mongolia and South Siberia.

On Thursday, September 9th, the Sections met.

Section I, India Sub-section ; 9-30 A. M.—M. Senart detailed the circumstances, under which a Kharoshthi manuscript of a version of the Dhammapáda had been found by M. Dutreuil de Rhins, a distinguished scholar, who had succumbed under the fatigue of his explorations. The manuscript was exceedingly important from the palæographic, grammatical, and literary, points of view, and was apparently the most ancient which had been found in India.

Professor Deussen presented to the Congress a copy of his newly published volume, "The Sixty Upanishads of the Veda." He called the attention of the Section to the influence, which, in his opinion, the ideas contained in these books must have upon the religious, and philosophical, life of Europe. M. Reynaud spoke of the extreme importance of the Upanishads, and of their connection, on the one side, with the Rig-Veda, and, on the other, with the Theogony of Hesiod and the fragments relating to the Kosmos of Orpheus. M. Oppert

made a communication on the subject of the Bhārata, and a discussion ensued.

Language and Archæology Sub-section.—The following resolutions were adopted :—

(1) "The Congress thanks the Government of India for the measures taken to preserve Buddhist sculptures, found in the Swat Valley and its vicinity. It thanks also Sir Charles Elliott, late Governor of Bengal, for the exertions made by him to preserve interesting specimens in the Calcutta Museum. At the same time the Congress desires to impress on the Government of India the urgent importance of keeping a watch on the proceedings of tourists and amateurs, who, by carrying away broken fragments, injure the precious monuments."

(2) "It conveys its thanks to the officials in Swat for the care taken by them."

(3) "Inasmuch as future excavations promise the most precious results, and considering how much private enterprise would assist the Indian Government, it suggests, that an International Association be formed, under the title of 'Indian Exploration Fund,' with its Headquarters in London, and a Committee be formed to arrange details."

(4) "The Congress expressed its thanks to the Government of India for the measures taken with regard to the birthplace of Buddha, and its hopes, that during the coming winter further explorations may be made."

(5) "The Congress expresses its thanks to the Government of Nepal for the assistance rendered in the explorations of Kapilavastu and Lumbini, which are among the most important discoveries of the century."

(6) "The Congress expresses its thanks to the Government of Bengal for having, in the time of Sir Charles Elliott, opened an 'Asoka Gallery' in the Calcutta Museum, and thus made the Asoka inscriptions, through the medium of a collection of plaster casts, accessible to scholars."

The Section then expressed its regret at the absence from this Congress of their old fellow-labourers, Professors Weber, Ascoli, Cowell and Fausböll.

Sub-section Iran.—M. Millet read a paper by Karkaria on the Parsi Religion, in which he dwelt on the resemblance between the tenets of Zoroaster and the philosophical system of Comte.

There were other communications of less importance.

The India and Linguistic Sub-sections met again at 4 P.M., but there was nothing which requires special notice.

Section II, Sub-section China and Japan; 10-10 A.M.—M. Thomsen presented to the Congress his work, "The inscrip-

tions of Orkhon," and read a paper on the consonants of the Oigúr language. A discussion arose and a question was asked on the subject of the Phonetics of the Turki languages and a possible affinity to the language of Koréa.

Sub-section Indo-China; 10 A.M.—M. Lefevre Pontális expressed a wish, that the monuments in Indo-China, whether Annamite, Chinese, or Cambodian, should be preserved. This wish was supported by MM. Lemire and Aymonier, and the Section recorded a resolution in that sense.

Section III; 9-15 A.M.—MM. Karabácek and Hondas made two communications on the subject of the Arabic numerals, which led to a discussion of the greatest interest. Other subjects were brought forward.

Section IV, Semitic Sub-section; 9-30 A.M.—Mrs. Lewis, of Cambridge, presented a Palestinian Syriac Lectionary prepared by herself, Dr. Nestle and Mrs. Gibson, and her own work, "Some pages of the Four Gospels retranscribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest." Professor Margoliouth, of Oxford, presented a copy of his "Thesaurus Syriacus," Fasc. x, Part 1.

M. Halévy called attention to the important result which the lately discovered text of the Ecclesiastes will have on the literary history of the Old Testament. Professor D. H. Müller, of Vienna, expressed his agreement with the views brought forward; and the two great scholars, so often in bitter opposition, saluted each other in a friendly manner.

The Section, on the motion of MM. Guidi, Haupt, and D. H. Müller, renewed the wish expressed at the Seventh Congress, that a critical edition of the Talmud should be published as soon as possible.

Assyrian Sub-section; 10 A.M.—Unimportant communications were made.

Section V; 9-30 A.M.—M. Neteler read a paper on the Synchronisms between the tablets of Tell-el-Amarna and the Assyrian and Babylonian chronologies.

M. Spiegelberg proposed a plan of a work on the administration of the Necropolis of Thebes, which would comprise an index of all the Monuments found there. A discussion took place on points of detail.

M. Waldemar-Schmidt read a paper on the shape of the Egyptian sarcophagi of a date later than the Twentieth Dynasty. This led to a discussion.

Section VI; 10 A.M.—The Section expressed in a resolution its great interest in the proposed publication entitled, "The Monuments of Byzantine Art," and recommended the subject to the liberality of the French Government. Other communications of less importance were made.

Section VII; 9-45 A.M.—M. Hamy brought forward the very

important subject of the ethnographical relations of the Natives of Asia and America. By the help of photography a closer study has been made of the ancient monuments, and an analogy is traced between certain American monuments, and certain monuments in Indo-China and Java. Further study will be made of this subject by an expedition now being prepared by American citizens.

The Sections of the Congress met on Friday, the 10th September.

Section I, Sub-section India ; 9-30 A. M.—Professor Bendall made some remarks on the "*Bibliotheca Buddhica*," published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, and gave a list of the contributors and the works published in it. He offered to the Congress a copy of his own contribution, the *Sikshása Mussaya*, an important exposition of Buddhism. After discussion the Section directed, that thanks should be conveyed to the Imperial Academy for the publication.

A discussion then took place on the importance of the inscriptions discovered in Cambodia, and the new light which they threw on the Hindu people. It used to be the opinion of scholars, that the first propagation of Indian ideas to the outer world was due to the Buddhists. The ancient inscriptions of Cambodia are found to be Brahmanical. Prof. Cordier announced that he proposed to publish a new edition of the *Life of Marco Polo* by the late Sir H. Yule. M. Stein, of the Lahore University, offered a copy of his new volume, the "*Translation of the Chronicles of Cashmir by Kalhána*." Some important maps accompany it. By his topographical studies on the spot he had identified several places mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*.

M. Leumann then started a discussion on Jain terminology : the notice is too brief to form an opinion. That the subject was of importance, is evidenced by the names of the members, who joined in the discussion. On the motion of Prof. Rhys Davids, the Section resolved that "the publication of a critical edition of the Sacred Texts of the Jains is a matter of urgency."

Subjection Iran.—No communication of importance was made.

The Sub-section India met again at 2 P. M.

Mr. R. Sewell spoke about the advisability of a careful exploration of the extensive Buddhist remains at Guntapalle, in the Ellore Division of the Godávári District, Madras. They are very important, are situated in a very remote tract, and have not yet received the full attention they deserve. There are over a dozen stupas ; archaic sculptures ; a pillared *maṇḍapa* ; groups of *vihára* caves ; a *chaitya* cave, of similar construction to and apparently of as great antiquity as, the Lomas Rishi cave in

Behar; inscriptions; detached pillars, fallen in the jungle; and others.

The Archæological Surveyor, Mr. Rea, reported: "It would be a pity if such a fine group were to remain unexplored," and thinks that it would rival some of the groups further north, if they were uncovered.

His explorations were stopped owing to the obstruction of the zamindar in whose land it lies.

The Section voted unanimously to send a communication to the Government of Madras, "expressing the hope that the extensive group of Buddhist remains at Guntapalle might be fully and scientifically explored by the Archæological Survey Department of Southern India." Dr. A. Grierson then reported to the Section how far the wish conveyed in 1886 by the Congress at Vienna to the Government of India, suggesting a systematic survey of the languages of India, had been carried out. A plan had been worked out by the Government, and a preparatory list of the languages and dialects of the Northern Provinces had been nearly completed. After a lively discussion the Section, on the motion of Professor Bühler of Vienna, and Professor Kuhn of Munich, adopted a resolution, "That thanks be conveyed to the Government of India for what had been done, and describing the importance of the results, which this enterprise, if fully carried out, would produce."

On the motion of Baron Textor de Ravisi, a request was made to the Asiatic Society of Bengal to secure a correct copy of a mural inscription of a pagoda at Udeypúr, as an important contribution to History.

M. L. Feer gave an account of twenty-seven Stupa, mentioned in the Memoirs of Hiouen-Tsang, and bearing reference to the Játaka stories. Professor Rhys Davids remarked, that the members of the Indian Service could greatly advance the interests of science, if they would in their leisure hours collect any literary documents that came under their notice.

The thanks of the Section were expressed to the Government of Ceylon for the encouragement given to the study of Archæology by the publication of Archæological Reports, and of the "Mahavamsa," and other ancient records of that Island, and a hope was expressed, that the same policy would be continued.

The thanks of the Section were expressed to the Lahór University, and the Maharája of Cashmír, for the kind assistance tendered to Dr. Stein in his translation of the Rajatarangini, and his topographical explorations, as recommended by the Congress of Geneva.

Subsection Linguistic; 2 P.M.—After various grammatical communications, Dr. Codrington, of the Royal Asiatic Society,

read a paper by his brother, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Codrington, on the subject of the languages of Melanesia. The writer remarked that the word-lore, and sentence-lore, of the language of barbarians had often arrived at a more complete linguistic development than could be expected from their degree of social development. It was interesting to note the effect on such a language caused by contact with European civilization. Examples were given.

Section II, Sub-section China and Japan; 9-40 A.M.—Certain volumes were presented. M. Deveria notified that an inscription from Liang Tcheou, hitherto deemed to be in a unknown written character, had been traced to its source. Nothing else worthy of special notice.

Sub-section Indo-China; 10 A.M.—M. Lemire presented to the Section his volume on "The Lao of Annam," with Photographs. He presented also his volume of Siamese Tales. Great interest was expressed in these communications. M. Masset announced the publication of an important work, "Excursions and Inquiries in Indo-China."

Later in the day the Section again met.

Sub-section China and Japan, 2-20 P.M.—M. Diosi discussed the future fate of the Japanese language, and the employment of Chinese loan-words. Other scholars joined in the discussion.

Section III; 9-30 A.M.—Books were presented and publications announced. Nothing of particular interest.

The Section met again at 2-45 P.M.—M. Ray described the different mosques in Tunisia. M. Saladin described the measures taken to study the Mahometan monuments and archæology of Tunisia; and M. Gauckler stated that the same steps would be taken with regard to the Christian monuments. An interesting discussion took place on the subject of the Persian origin of certain architectural forms, so-called Greek, of the public schools of Syria and Palestine.

Section IV, Sub-section Semitic; 9 A.M.—M. Lagrange persuaded the Section to express a wish that the managers of the Biblical School of St. Stephen at Jerusalem should arrange for a meeting of Semitic scholars in that city, accompanied by excursions in Palestine, in the Spring of 1899.

An expression of regret was conveyed to Professor Nöldeke, who was involuntarily absent from the Congress. Many other communications were made.

Sub-section Assyrian; 2 P.M.—Professor Sayce again drew attention to a so-called Hittite Seal: he rather thought that it was Syrian. Professor Hommel, who had made a prolonged study of the subject, considered that there was reference in the engravings of the seal to human sacrifices, and he assigned to it a date of 2000 B. C.

A vote of thanks was passed to His Excellence Hamdi Bey, the Director-General of the Turkish Museum, for the eminent service that he had rendered to Semitic archæology in general, and Assyrian archæology in particular.

Section V ; 9-30 A.M.—A few communications were made.

The Section met again 2 P.M.—A few communications were made. Professor Naville made some closing remarks, and a vote of thanks was conveyed to him by the Section.

Section VI ; 9-45 A.M.—M. Carl Schmidt read a paper on the Coptic Art. The origin of that Art, was traced back to the Ancient Egyptian Art ; but certain types had been altered in a Christian direction. In fact, the Coptic Art, though it utilised indigenous ideas and symbols, was really a branch of Byzantine Art. He expressed a wish, that a separate collection should be made of Coptic antiquities. Other communications followed, and after a vote of thanks to their president, the Section closed its labours.

Section VII ; 9-45 A.M.—A certain number of communications were made, none of special interest, and the Section closed, with an expression of a wish that, in future Congresses, their Section should be known by the name which it bore at Geneva, "Geography and Ethnography." This opens the question whether such a Section is required for an Oriental Congress. I do not think that it is.

On Saturday, September 11, there was a special meeting at 11 A.M. of Section I, Sub-section India. Final communications were made, and books presented. The President of the Section drew attention to the excellent service rendered to Oriental Studies by the University of Lyons and the Schools of Oriental Languages established by the French Government. The thanks of the Section were conveyed to the President, Lord Reay, and the Section finally concluded its very important labours.

Section III, Section V, and Section VII met also for a few minutes.

Section V met in the afternoon, and cleared off all the notices still undisposed of.

All the Sections then closed finally.

There was a general meeting of the whole Congress, under their President, M. Schefer, at 10 A.M. Abderrahim Ahmed, the Delegate of the Egyptian Government, read a very suitable address in the French Language, expressing a hope, that some future Congress would meet at Cairo, as Egypt had supplied, and would continue to supply, so much to archæological study.

In the name of Signor Guidi, the Representative of Italy, M. Maspero announced, that the next Congress would meet in

Italy, under the Presidency of Signor Ascoli. Later on in the same day it was announced, that Rome would be the place of meeting.

One of the objects of the Congress at Paris was to revise the Fundamental Statutes under which the Congresses are held ; a scheme had been devised, and copies had been circulated to all Members, and on the 9th September the following Statutes were agreed to in a Meeting of the whole Congress :

1. "Congresses should be held once in every three years, but "exceptionally, in the event of the convenience or the necessity "of the country which issues the invitation, the interval between two Congresses may be reduced to two, or extended to "four, years."

2. "Each Congress shall be organised by a Committee composed of the natives of the country, in which it is to be held. "The Committee will be at liberty to increase or to diminish "the number of sections into which the Congress is to be divided ; it will fix, as it thinks best, the date of the Meeting, "the duration of the session, the order of the work, and all "the material details of reception."

3. "When the Congress is assembled, a Consultative Committee is to form itself, which must be composed of the presidents and vice-presidents of the Organizing Committee, and "of a certain number of foreign members chosen by the Organizing Committee of the Congress. The Committee will "decide on the questions, that may be put to the Congress."

4. "The Organizing Committee has to select one or more "Languages which shall be the official Languages of the Congress, and which will be employed in the issue of the Proceedings. The use of other Languages in discussions will "be optional, under the responsibility of the president of each "section."

5. "The President of each section has to maintain order "during the sittings ; he regulates the sequence of work, fixes "the length of the communications, guides or stops the discussions, subject to reference, in case of dispute, to the Consultative Committee."

6. "Each Congress has to fix, at a General Meeting, the "place where the next Congress should be held ; it has to "make a choice from amongst those countries, which will have "made their proposals through the channel of their delegates, "or from those that the Consultative Committee may think "itself able to designate provisionally. In no case can the "Congress be held twice running in the same country."

7. "After the separation of each Congress, the Organizing "Committee will reassume their general powers, and will retain "them up to the day, that they will have received the official

"notification of the constitution of the Committee appointed
 "to prepare the next Congress; after this date, they will only
 "keep the local powers necessary to liquidate the duties of the
 "Congress at which they had presided."

8. "If, notwithstanding, a serious complication should arise,
 "of a nature to compromise the very institution of Congresses,
 "and their perpetuity, this difficulty will be provided for by
 "the convocation of an International Committee formed as
 "follows:

"(1) Of the Organizing Committee of the last Congress."

"(2) Of a representative of each country, in which the
 "Congress has already previously held its sittings.
 "For each country this representative will be
 "*de jure* the President, or, failing him, a Vice-Pre-
 "sident of the last Congress which was held there.
 "Failing the survival of the President and Vice-
 "President in that country, the Committee will
 "complete itself by means of co-optation."

"To the Committee thus constituted belongs (the duty) of
 "regulating the difficulties, and to cause, with the least possible
 "delay, the convocation of a new Congress, which would have
 "to approve of its decision."

Finally, the President of the Congress, M. Schefer, made his parting address, expressing his thanks to the Delegates of foreign States, and foreign Learned Societies, and to the numerous foreign scholars who had enrolled themselves as members, and personally attended. He hoped that they would retain pleasant recollections of the meetings of this Congress, meetings which cannot fail to advance the cause of science. No one can entertain a doubt as to the value of the communications made to this Congress, and he himself anticipated that the harvest would be plentiful. There had been evidence of mutual respect and personal esteem entertained towards each other by the members of this Congress, though of different nationalities. He hoped that all who returned to their respective countries would remember the Congress at Paris.

The President then declared the Eleventh International Oriental Congress to be closed.

During the week there had been a sufficiency of entertainments and receptions to testify to the hospitality of the residents of Paris, but not to turn the Congress into a junket. Everybody was satisfied, and there was no single *contretemps*. Museums, Libraries, and Galleries were thrown open.

To enable the Daily Bulletin to appear punctually on the next morning, it was necessarily brief, and perhaps some things were omitted, or not sufficiently detailed. The value of the

work done at the Congress will be fully appreciated only when we have in our hands the three volumes of the full Report, which will be published simultaneously, and before the meeting of the next Congress at Rome in 1900 A.D.

I have only this year made a Report of the preceding ten Congresses at Paris, London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leyden, Vienna, Stockholm, London, and Geneva, at all of which I was present, with the exception of Paris and Geneva: though I was a member of the last-named and contributed a paper. I pointed out faithfully the errors, into which previous Congresses had fallen, and the unwise tendencies which seem ready to develop. I will not add any further remarks, but express my hopes, and my conviction, that these hopes will be fulfilled by future Congresses, where scholars can meet periodically as in a great scientific Parliament, and exchange views as well as report progress. Of course those who, like myself, are "all-round" students in each and all of the Sections, derive the most entire satisfaction.

As a sample of the practical utility of the periodical meetings of competent scholars, I print a copy of the series of questions in the Section of Ethnography and Folklore prepared by a Commission of that Section. It brings home to uninstructed readers the directions in which local authorities or residents can carry out researches. I greatly regret that, when I was placed, fifty years ago, in charge of a newly-conquered virgin District in the Punjáb, I had not a paper like this available: on how many a subject I could have made inquiries in my solitary camp-wanderings amidst my people!

QUESTIONNAIRE REDIGÉ PAR LA COMMISSION
D'ETHNOGRAPHIE ET FOLKLORE.

- I. Nouvelles découvertes relatives à l'existence d'un âge de pierre en Asie. Syrie et Mésopotamie. Inde. Indo-Chine et Malaisie. Japon et Sibérie.
- II. Etude des survivances de l'âge de pierre chez les différents peuples orientaux. Légendes et superstitions relatives aux instruments de pierre. Emploi persistant de certains de ces instruments, etc.
- III. Etude particulière de divers rites spéciaux se rapportant à la naissance, à l'initiation, à l'adoption, à la fraternisation, aux fiançailles, au mariage, aux funérailles. Etat ancien que l'étude de ces pratiques permet de restituer.
- IV. Recherches sur l'organisation de la famille et de la propriété. Relations de parenté. Aptitude à succéder. Clan et clientèle. Polyandrie. Matriarcat.

- V. Idées religieuses et pratiques qui s'y rattachent. Chamanisme. Dieux animaux et animaux sacrés. Culte des éléments. Culte domestique. Culte des ancêtres et culte des morts.
 - VI. Totem et totémisme.
 - VII. Tatouages et autres signes distinctifs.
 - VIII. Manifestations primitives des arts du dessin.
 - IX. Musique. Instruments de musique étudiés principalement dans leur distribution géographique.
 - X. Ethnographie et folklore comparés de l'Asie nord-orientale et de la côte nord-ouest d'Amérique.
 - XI. Légendes ethnographiques et géographiques dans la littérature orientale, spécialement dans les épopées, les contes, et les récits de voyage.
 - XII. Témoignages matériels des relations commerciales entre les Chinois et les Arabes au moyen âge. Découverte de céramiques chinoises en Arabie, en Egypte, à Madagascar, etc.
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ART. V.—VEDIC INDIA.

(*Concluded from January 1898, No. 211.*)

WE have already referred to the great reverence paid to the
The Indus.
Sindhu, or Indus, by the Aryan emigrants to the Panjab. The Rig Veda abounds in passages descriptive of its glory, might and usefulness. It is thus praised in the Tenth Mandala, hymn 75. 'Oh Sindhú ! When thou flowest through lands rich in food for man and pasture for cattle, Varuna opens a passage for thy circuit. Thou flowest on a verdant path and shinest on all the rivers that flow.'

'The mighty sound of the Sindhú reaches the vault of heaven. She travels with a large army and clad in bright costume. Her mighty roar sounds like incessant rain pouring down from the thick clouds with great violence. The Sindhú comes roaring like an infuriated bull.'

'As the cows bring milk for their calves, so the rivers approach thee, Oh Sindhú, with their waters. As a king marches to the battlefield at the head of his army, so thou, Sindhú, flowest with the rivers* in thy train.'

The Punjab rivers are the objects of praise in the Rig Veda.
The Punjab rivers.
'The bards sing their praise in their place of worship. The minstrels chant hymns to flatter them.' They are described as flowing in three systems, with seven streams for each system. 'The might of the Sindhú excels that of all others.'

The geographical knowledge of the early Aryans was limited to India ; but such information as they possessed does not seem to have been inaccurate. The following description of rivers is given in the Tenth Mandala, hymn 75. Each river is treated as a sublime object and personified and praised.

'O Ganges, O Yamuna and Sarsuti and Sutudri (Sutlej) and Parushni (Ravi), partake of my praises.' 'O stream that joinest the Asikni (Chenab), O Vitasta (Jhelam), O Arjikia (Beas) that hast joined the Sushoma, hear my words.'

'O Sindhú, thou joinest first the Trishtana and then flowest. Then thou joinest, the Susartu, Rosa, and Seviti. Thou unitest the Kuramu (Koram) and Gomati (River Gomul) with the Kubha (Cabul river) and Mehatnú, and then flowest along with them.'

* These are the tributaries from Cabul to the west and the Punjab to the east.

'The irresistible Sindhu flows in a straight path with bright blue waters; she is grand and mighty. She fills the country on all sides with water in great profusion. Of all the flowing rivers, none flows so beautifully as she does. She is fierce and violent, like a mare, and beautiful like a young maid.'

'Sindhú is ever young and beautiful. She is rich in wealth, chariots and handsome attire. She is rich in gold and is dressed in beautiful costume. She is rich in corn, in wool and in grass and has covered herself with odoriferous flowers.'

'Sindhú has yoked the horses to her easy chariot and brings food for us in them. Great is the might of that chariot. She is irresistible and powerful and her fame has spread all over the world.'

These hymns are notable for their power of imagination and their beauty, no less than for their accuracy; for they show that the Vedic Aryans had clear ideas of the rivers that, flowing from the north and west, fall into the Indus, as well as of those that join it from the north and east, and of the Ganges and the Jumna which join it further on, with their tributaries. They show that the geographical knowledge of the Vedic poets did not extend beyond the snowy hills to the north, the Suleiman hill ranges and the Indus to the west, and the Ganges and the Jumna to the east. Beyond this the Aryan fathers knew nothing.

At the supposed consecration of Indra, when he was elected by the gods to be their king, and when, in the midst of ceremonies, he took his seat on the throne, solemn rites were performed, of which a full description is given in the third chapter of the Eighth Mandala. The geographical hints therein contained, and the limit of countries described, deserve notice as showing, further, the extent of the geographical knowledge possessed by the ancient Aryans. Different gods are described as having consecrated Indra in different regions. Thus, the divine *Vasus* consecrated him in the 'eastern region' with holy words and with hymns in verse and prose to ensure just domination. Consequently several 'kings of the Prachyas in the east' were consecrated after the practice of the gods.

Next, the divine *Rudra* consecrated Indra in the 'southern region,' to ensure increase of happiness. On that account the several 'kings of the Satwats in the south' were consecrated after the fashion of the gods.

Again, the divine *Adityas* having consecrated him in the 'western region,' several 'kings of the Nichyas and Apachyas in the west' were consecrated.

Then the gods *Viswadeva* having consecrated him in the northern region,' several deities who governed the countries of

Uttara 'Kuru and Uttara Madra beyond the Hīmavat (Himalaya) in the north,' were consecrated.

Afterwards, the divine Sadhyas and Aptyas having consecrated him 'in the middle or central region,' 'the several kings of Kuru and Panchala, as well as Vasa and Usinara in the central region, were consecrated to sovereignty over the people.'

The above extracts show in more detail the names given by the Aryans to the several countries of ancient India in different directions.

Lastly, Maruts and the gods Angiras having consecrated Indra in the 'upper region,' he became the Supreme Lord (Paramashthi) and ruler in chief over all creatures.—VII, 3 and 38. *Uttara Kuru* is described in the same chapter as 'the land of the gods,' 'No mortal can subdue it.' The king Sushmina, son of Sivi, slew Atyabati, son of Janantapa, who had attempted to conquer it. The latter king was thus deprived of vigour and divested of all strength.

The Vedic hymns mention seven rivers in connection with the Panjab, namely, the Sindhú (Indus) and five of its tributary streams and the Sarsuti. The Sindhú is treated as the revered mother of all the five rivers, and Sarsuti was the seventh river. The Sindhú (Indus), with its tributary streams, still fertilises the land of the five rivers, the adopted home of the ancient Aryans; but the Sarvasti, or Sarasvati, one of the most revered rivers of the ancient Hindús, which in early times was worshipped as a goddess, has ceased to exist. Its bed is still to be seen near Kurukshetra and modern Thanesar, and the spot is held in great veneration by the Hindús.

Sarasvati, as her name signifies, became the goddess of the river of that name, because sacred hymns were chanted on its banks by the Vedic bards, and sacrifices made, and other ceremonies performed there. Her association with sacred rites made her holy. On account of her peculiar position, she was recognised as the goddess of hymns, and, these being chanted in particular tunes, she developed into the goddess of speech, by which term she is now known and worshipped. Although she has ceased to exist bodily, her memory is cherished by the pious to the present day, and her favours are not forgotten as the originator of many of the sacred hymns.

A famous colony of the Aryas flourished between the Sarasvati, or Sarsuti, of the modern period, near Thanesar, Punjab, and Drishadvati, or Ghaggar. This tract the Aryas called the holy land (Brahmavarta). As their numbers increased, they spread eastward and they called their people by the term sacred singers, that is Brahmarshidesha. By degrees their

colonies included the whole Punjab, together with the upper course of the Jumna and probably Ganges.*

The Rig Veda makes mention of an interesting passage in which the celebrated Rishi, Visvamitra, experienced hardship in crossing the confluence of the Beas and the Sutlej. King Sudas had loaded this Rishi with abundant presents of chariots, horses and other valuables. When the sage reached the confluence of the two streams with all the presents loaded on beasts and in carriages, his progress was arrested by the rapidity of the current of the combined streams. A solemn hymn was composed by the sage at this time in which the powers of eloquence were exhausted to allay the fury of the flood and to persuade the stream to allow a safe passage. Sudas was a celebrated king of ancient times in the Panjab, who, by force of arms, subdued the neighbouring kingdoms and won many battles, which have been graphically described in the hymns above-mentioned. He is praised as a monarch possessed of great wisdom and knowledge, and devoted to theology, which he made the special subject of his study. He bestowed great gifts on the families of the sages Visvamitra and Vashishtha. Both being the recipients of the king's favour, great jealousy arose between them, and the subject has been treated at length by the Vedic authors.

From the resumé above given, it will be seen that the Land of the Five Rivers was the early home of the Aryan settlers. Many passages exist in the Rig Veda which make mention of its Five Rivers. Mention of the Ganges or the Jumna is of very rare occurrence. People who settled on the banks of the Five Rivers, divided themselves by degrees into five sections or tribes. Passages abound in the Rig Veda in which mention is made of Five Lands, "Pancha." Similarly we find mention of five tribes of cultivators, "Pancha† Krishti," and of five peoples, "Pancha‡ Jana." These were the 'five tribes' which extended their conquests from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

The social rules and usages and the mode of life of the ancient Aryans were quite different from those of the Hindus of the present day. There was no distinction of caste. All men were treated alike. None was greater than another. There was no prohibition against eating beef, and the Vedas mention with pride the fact of the merchants undertaking voyages by sea. There was no separate or distinct caste of Rishis, and they did not pass their lives in seclusion

Rishis.

* The tract of land called by Mannu Madhiadesha (or middle land) includes the southern course of the Ganges up to Oudh and Allahabad, north of which are the Himalayas and south the Vindhya Mountains.

† I, 7, 9 ; I, 176, 3 ; II, 46, 7.

‡ VI, 11, 4 ; VI, 51, 11 ; VIII, 32, 22 ; IX, 65, 23.

and meditation, keeping aloof from worldly people like so many monks, as in after ages. On the contrary, they were men of the world, possessed of large herds of cattle and cultivated fields. They fought the aborigines, and prayed their gods for increase of wealth and cattle, for victory over the enemy, for blessings to their wives and children, and for peace in their home. Every father, or head of a family, was, in fact, a Rishi in his home circle and worshipped the gods in his own house after his humble fashion. The females of the house joined the Rishis in their worship and helped them in performing the ceremonies. No doubt, some of these Rishis acquired pre-eminence over others by composing hymns and performing sacrifices. On grand festive occasions, kings and wealthy people summoned them, and they presided over ceremonies of worship or of sacrifice, on the completion of which they received rich presents as a reward for their sacred service; but even these authors, these great Rishis of the Vedas, did not claim to be a distinct caste or tribe.

Mention is, indeed, made in the Tenth Mandala of four

No castes. castes; but these castes sprang up centuries after the Vedic hymns were composed, and after they came to be chanted by the sacred singers on ceremonial and festive occasions. It is remarkable that in the bulk of the hymns, which extend over a period of six hundred years and comprise about ten thousand verses, while clear mention exists of every other subject of importance, such as marriage, mourning, battle with the aborigines, worship, sacrifices, altars, grazing of cattle, cultivation, gods of heaven and earth, phenomena of nature, the position of woman, the actions of life, no mention of caste exists. In the Sanskrit literature of later period the expression Brahman (from the Sanskrit Brahme—the vast one) is taken to denote a priestly caste; but in numerous places in the Rig Veda the term signifies only the author or composer of the hymns. Similarly, in later Sanskrit, Chatria is understood to represent a separate warrior caste; but in the Vedas the term means power and strength and is associated with gods. Vipra is taken to mean a priestly caste in later Sanskrit; but in the Vedas it is understood to mean only wise, and is connected with gods. Varna represents caste in later Sanskrit; but in the Vedas the term is used to distinguish the Aryas from the aborigines. Private priests of petty kings were designated Brahmins; but they form no distinct caste. It was not until a later period, or until the days of the Mahabharata, or epic period, that the Brahmins came to be recognised as a distinct caste and their existence was considered essential in every sphere of human activity.

The word Brahman, as used in the Rig Veda, literally means hymn. As there is hidden power in the flame and libation sacrifice, so a concealed power was supposed to exist in prayer. As Fire and Soma came to be worshipped as deities, so a Brahman (hymn) became god ; that is a prayer offered was given the dignity of god and came to be regarded as a god itself. The power of prayer was personified, and Brahman became a Vedic god. A prayer was supposed to possess mysterious power, that is, power over invisible actions or beings, and it was styled Brahman in the Vedas. When the Buddhist religion made its appearance in the country, the Budhs treated Brahman (the prayer) as a generous and gentle spirit. Again, when Puranic Hinduism took the place of the Buddhist religion, Brahma was regarded as the supreme creator of the universe, who gave birth to Brahmans, the sect. It thus becomes clear that, although the origin of the Brahmans is traceable to the Vedas, their power dates from the prevalence of Puranic Hinduism.

The families who could repeat by heart the hymns of the Rig Veda, came by degrees to be recognised as hereditary masters of those ceremonies which were performed at sacrifices. Hymns relating to sacrifices, to battles, to prayers ; hymns praying for the removal of a catastrophe, or national danger, or misfortune, were all chanted by the priests. In the earlier Vedic hymns, the sanctity of these priests is distinctly mentioned. In one place it is said : 'A king before whom a priest walks, he alone lives in his house with joy and contentment ; before him only shall the people bow their heads as a mark of respect and homage. A king who endows a priest with wealth, only such a king shall become victorious, and he alone shall be protected by the gods.'

If any calamity was once averted by the chanting of a hymn, the chanter or author of that hymn became the recipient of honours and distinctions, and thus particular hymns became hereditary with certain priestly families and came to be regarded as a valuable heritage. The Rig Vedas mention how a prayer chanted by the sage Vasishtha became the means of securing victory for kings, and how the sage Viswamitra protected the Bharats from destruction. As already observed, the prayer was styled Brahman, and the Vedas say 'any one who shall despise prayer (Brahman) which we have made, shall be visited by a burning and destructive plague. May the heavens burn and reduce to ashes that person who abhors Brahman !'

We have already adverted to the circumstance that there were no temples, and that every father of a family acted as a Rishi in his
No temples or idols.

own home circle. The Rig Veda makes no mention of idols, or temples where people assembled for worship or for singing the hymns of the Vedas. Sacred fire was lit in the house; the people of the house sat round it and sang, with all the fervour of enthusiasts and with great joy, the Vedic hymns. Libation of Soma juice was prepared. The head of the family prayed before the gods for the happiness and welfare of the family, abundant harvests, the health of the family, increase of cattle and victory over the accursed aborigines. Priestly castes were unknown, nor did men seclude themselves from the world, and pass their lives in penitence in forests and places removed from the haunts of men. On the contrary, the ancient Rishis were family men; they possessed property, wealth and cattle, and were to all intents and purposes worldly men. At time of danger they changed the plough for the battle axe. Although the master of every house was himself the priest, yet there is evidence to show that kings performed the rites on a magnificent scale, assisted by those who possessed special aptitude in chanting the sacred hymns or performing other ceremonies.

Kings took part in these ceremonies. For the performance of these ceremonies such men were handsomely rewarded with cattle and chariots. The Rig Veda mentions the families who performed these ceremonies and composed the hymns, and it is believed that the hymns of the Rig Veda, left to posterity as a sacred inheritance, were composed by the members of these families. Such was the simple life led by the ancient Aryans. The entire priesthood was confined to the family circle. Sacrifices were made in the same fashion, and the ceremonies connected therewith were not presided over by a priest, as in later times.

The Rig Vedas draw a picture of the share taken by females along with their males in the sacrifices, and how they assisted them in going through the ceremonies. They prepared the necessary ingredients and pounded them in a mortar. Soma juice was extracted and dissolved and strained through a cloth. There are various passages in the Rig Veda showing that females took part with their husbands in sacrificial duties, thus hoping to accompany their lords to paradise. For instance, it is said: "O god, that married couple who prepare the oblations together and who purify the Soma juice and mix it with milk, mayest thou be pleased to give them food together, and may they ever attend the altars in couple. May they never wander in quest of food. They never make a false vow of offerings to their god, nor withhold the praises from their gods. They worship thee with offerings of the choicest and

richest food. They have young and beautiful children. They have obtained gold, and the ages of them both have been prolonged." "The gods themselves," continues the text, "love the worship of a couple who show such zeal in making offerings and who offer rich foods to the gods with innumerable thanks. They embrace each other, that their offspring may increase and they pay undivided attention to the worship of their gods."

Educated ladies composed hymns, like men, and performed sacrifices. There were no undue restrictions with regard to women, nor was there any attempt to keep them in seclusion, or to keep them uneducated, or to prevent them from acquiring their proper place in society. On the contrary, we find them taking part in every affair of human life. They participated in sacrifices and used their influence in society. Visvavara was a pious lady who composed hymns thousands of years ago and presided over sacrificial ceremonies. She prayed before the goddess Agni with true fervour and devotion for the maintenance of love between married couples and for the peace of their home circle. The names of other ladies are also mentioned among the Rishis of the Rig Veda.

There were no restrictions regarding the marriage of daughters. Mention is made of unmarried women who, having remained in the houses of their parents, advanced a claim to paternal property. Frequent mention is made of diligent and industrious wives who managed the household affairs, and who, rising at a very early hour, sent out the male members of the house to attend to their business before the dawn. They possessed all those homely accomplishments and virtues for which Hindu women have attained celebrity from early times. Along with women who were considered the ornaments of their house, mention also exists of such as had been led astray, and were wanting in those virtues which had contributed to the fame of their more fortunate sisters, and of wives who became disloyal to their husbands. Mention is made in one place of a penniless gambler whose wife became the subject of the hurtful passion of others.

Girls had some voice in their own marriage. But their choice was not always happy. "Many women married persons coveting wealth in their possession and paying little regard to their personal virtues. They married them because the men sought them." "But a woman," continues the text, "who is gentle and beautiful, shall select that man out of many who wish to marry her, whom she loves." X, 27, 12. Nevertheless

there can be no doubt that fathers generally selected husbands for their daughters; and, as is the practice in these times, the fathers gave their daughters in marriage after adorning them with ornaments of gold. Girls were not married until they had attained the age of puberty. Infant marriage, or marriage of minors, was unknown. Ceremonies connected with marriage were appropriate and pleasant, and the stipulations entered into by the married couple were characterised by sound reasoning and fair play.

There were no absurd exaggerations in the terms of contract; no attempt on the part of one unduly to humiliate the other. Visvavasú, the god of marriage, was thus invoked:—

‘Oh Visvavasú! rise up from this place, for the marriage of this girl is over. We adore Visvavasú with hymns and by prostrating ourselves on the ground before him in humiliation. Repair now to the house of some other virgin who may still be living with her parents and who may have attained the marks of a marriageable age. It is now her turn to fall to your share. Go and form acquaintance with her.’

‘Oh Visvavasú! get up from this place. We worship thee and bend our heads before thee in recognition of thy superiority and control over us. Go to some virgin girl whose body may have been well developed. Make her the wife of somebody and unite her to some husband.’

‘May the path over which our friends go in search of virgin girls for the purposes of marriage, become easy for them and free from thorns. O gods let the bridegroom and bride join happily.’

The parting bride was thus addressed:—‘Virgin girl! The resplendent sun had tied thee with the ties of virginity. We now make thee free from those ties and bondages and locate thee with thy husband in a house which is the house of joy, of truth, of love and of happiness and comfort.’

‘We make this virgin free from this house (*viz.*, the house of her parents), but not from the other house (*viz.*, the house of her husband). We make her join the other house happily. O Indra, may she be fortunate and become the mother of able and fortunate sons.’

‘May Pushin take thee away from this place, holding thee by the hand! May both Asvins carry thee in a chariot! Go thou to the house of thy husband and there become the mistress of the house. Become the lady of all the inmates of the house and govern them.’

‘Mayest thou be gifted with sons in the house of thy husband and be blessed there. Perform the duties of thy household with care. Join thy person with the person of thy husband. Exercise thy control and authority in that thy house until the time when thou shalt become old.’

A ceremony was observed showing that a bride was offered to three gods before being made over to her husband. A hymn runs thus :—‘Soma accepts thee first ; Gandharwa next ; then Agni becomes thy Lord ; the son of the sky is the fourth, again, that accepts thee.’

The bridegroom, on securing the bride, expressed his gratitude thus :—‘Soma gave this maiden to Gandharwa, Gandharwa to Agni, and Agni gave her to me, together with wealth and children.’

A prayer for the success and happiness of the married couple said : ‘O bride and bridegroom, live together in peace and harmony at this place and be never separated. Enjoy food of various kinds, live comfortably in your house, and pass life happily in the company of your sons and grandsons.’

The following is a prayer offered by the bridegroom and bride :—‘May Prajapati bestow children upon us. May Aryaman keep us both united until we grow old.’

Address of bridegroom to bride :—‘O bride ! Walk in the house of thy husband with great care. Be kind to our male servants, our female servants and our cattle.’

‘May thy eyes be free from wrath and anger. Seek the pleasure of thy lord—thy husband, and treat well our cattle. May thy heart always remain glad ! May thy beauty shine ! Mayest thou become the mother of brave and dutiful sons, and mayest thou continue to worship the gods and be occupied in adoring them ! Do good to our servants, male and female, and to our cattle.’

‘Oh Indra, make this woman fortunate and the mother of able sons. May she become the mother of ten sons, so that, together with the husband, there may be eleven men in the family.’

Address to bride :—‘Mayest thou have influence over thy father-in-law and mother-in-law, and mayest thou be treated as a princess by thy husband’s sisters and brothers.’

The bridegroom and bride said :—‘May all the gods unite us ! May Malarisvan, Dhasti and the goddess of speech unite us both.’ X, 85.

The above extracts will give a clear idea of the ceremonies observed on the occasion of marriage, and of the place assigned to a young bride in the family and in the affections of her husband.

Polygamy was allowed for kings and men of substance and wealth, as it had indeed been in vogue from ancient times in all coun-

tries and among all nations. In such cases there were numerous private feuds and quarrels. Hymns are to be found in the tenth part of the Rig Veda in which a wife curses her

co-wife. But such curses and abuse are unknown in the earlier Vedic hymns, showing that the ideas and practices of those days in regard to matrimonial alliances were different from those of the later period.

Interesting passages exist in regard to the law of inheritance.

Law of inheritance. The following are worthy of note :—‘ A father who has no sons, honours his son-in-law who is able to beget sons and leaves his property to his daughter’s sons. A sonless father relies on the issue of his daughter and is contented and thankful.

‘ A son never gives any part of his father’s property to his sister. He gives away the sister to a husband in order that she may become his wife. If a father and mother have one son and one daughter, the son discharges the functions and duties of the father, while the other (*viz.* daughter) is honoured, III, 31.

The above extracts will show that the Shashtra law relating to inheritance has, from the earliest times, treated a son as the inheritor of his father’s property, honour and religious duties, and not a daughter, and that, in the absence of son, the duties devolve on a daughter’s son.

Adoption. Adoption was allowed among the Aryan tribes, as would appear from the following verses :—

‘ As a man who owes no debt to anybody, becomes the master of much property, so shall we acquire that wealth which shall be everlasting’ (namely, a son of the loins).

‘ O Agni, do not give us a son adopted from another person. Lead us not to the path of ignorant people.’

‘ A son begotten from another person may become the source of our pleasure ; but he cannot be accepted or treated as the own son, or son of the loins of a man, and he returns finally to his own place. Bestow upon us, then, O God, a newly born son who may bring for us food and destroy our enemies !’ - VII, 4, 7 and 8

The Rig Veda does not represent Yama as the God of hell, but represents him as the God of heavenly worship and truth. He is the God who rewards virtuous men in a happy land after death. But he has two dogs which must be abhorred by every body and from which every one must hold aloof. The chief satisfaction was derived from the belief that the dead went to the place where their forefathers had gone before them, that they joined them and lived with them. The following verses prove this :—

‘ O thou dead ! go to that place where our father and grandfather have gone, and adopt the way which they adopted

Both gods, Yama and Varuna, are pleased with oblations. Go and feast thy eyes with the splendour of their countenance.'

'Go to that pleasant heaven and there join the primitive forefathers. Meet there Yama and thy own good deeds. Leave thy sins behind and enter thy real home.'

Evil spirits and ghosts were believed to exist and to have command over the actions of the living in some form. At one place it is said:—'O devils! leave this place; be gone; flee; for the forefathers have prepared a place of safety for the dead. That spot is as beautiful as the brilliant day; is sparkling with bright waters and with light. Yama has preserved that spot for the dead.'

The following verses also show that there was a belief in future happiness and a future world. 'O thou dead! These two dogs have each four eyes, and they are of curious colour. Go away from them at once, and, passing by a beautiful road, join those wise ancestors who spent their time in happiness and contentment of mind.'—X, 14.

The following are the verses relating to funeral rites and ceremonies:—'O fire! reduce not the body of this deceased to ashes. Be not extortionate to him. Trample

Ceremonies connected with death. not his skin and body. O fire! As soon as his body is burnt with the heat of thy flames, take him to our ancestors.'

'O thou deceased! go to that spacious land which is our mother. She is beautiful and wide; may her touch be as soft as that of wool, or of a woman. Thou hast offered sacrifices. May those sacrifices have the wholesome effect of saving thee from punishment.'

'O Varuna! suffer me not to go to the house beneath earth.' VII, 89, 1.

'O earth! remove gently from him. Do not put him to trouble. Give him choice things; give him consolation; as a mother covers her child with her garment, so do thou cover him with thy arms.'—X, 181.

'May the earth which has been raised above him like a tower, become light for him. May the atoms of that earth become atoms of gold and serve for him as a house filled with butter. May those atoms afford him shelter and serve him as a canopy.'—X, 18.

It would appear from the above extracts that the practice of burying the dead prevailed among the early Aryans. After some time, however, the Indo-Aryans adopted the practice of burning dead bodies, instead of interring them in the earth. In Persia, instead of burial in the earth, the practice was adopted of exposing dead bodies in open fields, or spaces, where they became the prey of vultures, crows and other

birds. In Bombay the Parsis lay the corpses of their dead in the Tower of Silence where they meet the same fate.

There are verses in the Rig Veda showing that the re-marriage of widows. marriage of widows was held to be lawful. The text says:—‘Arise, O woman; you are lying with a man whose life has become extinct. Come to the world of life. Get away from your (dead) husband and become the wife of that man who shall raise you up by the hand and be willing to marry you.’—X, 18, 8.

The word used in the text, means in the Shastras ‘second husband of a woman.’ Expressions exist in the Shastras showing beyond all doubt that among the ancient Aryans widow re-marriage had the sanction of law. The word used, *Didhushú*, means literally ‘a man who has married a widow.’ *Purapurva* literally means ‘a woman that has taken a second husband.’ *Punnarbhava* means ‘a son of a woman by her second husband.’

The practice of immolation of widows on the funeral pyre Burning of widows on of their husbands is nowhere mention- the funeral pyre of their ed in the Vedas. The instructions or husbands prayers for widows are the following: ‘May these women not suffer the distress and affliction of widowhood. May the widows who had good and agreeable husbands enter their houses with collyrium and butter. May these women first enter their houses without shedding tears and without remorse, and may they wear precious jewellery.’—X, 18, 7.

As observed by Mr. R. C. Dutt, there is not a word in these passages sanctioning or even alluding to the burning of widows on the pyre of their husbands. In Bengal one word, Agri, has been changed into Agni, meaning fire. The original text has been mistranslated and thus the practice of burning widows on the pyre of their husbands was introduced in Bengal.

The ancient Aryans had knowledge of drugs and their qualities. It is thus said in praise of King Knowledge of drugs. Varuna, the monarch of the sky: ‘O King Varuna! a hundred and a thousand medical drugs are thine. May thy generosity extend and become deep. Keep falsehood away from us; forgive us the sins we have committed.’—I, 24.

The objects of nature are described in the Rig Veda with great simplicity, beauty and force. Of Objects of nature. the stars in the sky it is said: ‘The stars which are placed on high and which become visible at night, where do they go at night? The works of Varuna are unchangeable. The moon shines with brightness by his command.’—I, 24.

There are forcible and sympathetic prayers regarding penitence for sin, showing that the ancient Aryans had a firm belief in one God

Penitence for sin. and had full faith in his wisdom. They feared God, abstained from sins, implored his mercy and loved truth. One of these prayers said : 'Oh Varuna ! Deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from our personal sins. Oh sovereign Varuna, bestow on us thy mercy even as a calf is released from the confinement of its keeper.'

'Oh Varuna ! we do not commit all these sins intentionally. We are the victims of error, or wine, or passion, or lust, or gambling, or foolishness. Even an elder brother dissuades his younger brother. The sins recur in our thoughts even in dreams.'

'Having freed myself from sin, I will worship Varuna faithfully like a slave. He fulfils our desires and supports us. We are ignorant. May the Arya God impart knowledge to us. May the wise deity hear our prayers and bestow wealth upon us.'—VII, 86.

'Oh King Varuna, May I never enter the house of the earth ! Oh thou who possessest great might and power, have mercy on me, have mercy on me !'

'Oh Varuna of powerful arm, I approach thee trembling, just as a cloud is driven hither and thither by a violent wind. Oh thou possessing great power, have mercy, have mercy !'

'Oh wealthy and mighty Varuna, pure-hearted and sincere.' I have been kept away from truth by negligence. Oh thou possessing great power, have mercy, have mercy.'

'Thy worshipper has remained thirsty, although standing in water. Oh thou possessing great power, have mercy, have mercy.'

'Oh Varuna, we are mortal beings. In whatever way we have neglected duties to thee through folly and ignorance, in whatever way we have sinned against the gods, destroy us not for these our sins.'—VII, 89.

Indra is the rain-producing god who has command over the firmament. The particulars of his God of rain. battle with Vritra are very interesting.

Dark, dense clouds on which mankind look with eager hopes, but which too often cause disappointment at times of drought, were called Vritra by the ancient Aryans. It was thought that Vritra polluted water and withheld the rain until Indra, the god of rain, thrashed the monster with the thunderbolt. The pent up waters then pour from the sky in copious showers; the rivers overflow ; gods and men are filled with joy at the change in the face of nature. The Rig Veda abounds in hymns in which these conflicts are described in glowing terms.

Gods of storm. Maruts, the gods of storms, assist Indra ; heaven and earth tremble at the

turmoil. Vritra continues the fight with great fierceness for a long time, but is ultimately defeated, falls down and expires. The drought ceases and rain begins to fall in profusion ; men, beasts and birds are refreshed, rivers and streams overflow, and trees and vegetables put on a fresh garb of green and acquire new life. The gods of storm, the friends of Indra, cause the rain to fall. When these gods make their round in their chariots, drawn by deer, the earth trembles, and men are struck with the brilliancy of their arms and the splendour and beauty of their ornaments, that is, lightning. Notwithstanding the dread they inspire, they are very generous, and, with the help of their children, the clouds, send rain in torrents to mankind.

Rudra is a ghastly and horrible deity, the father of the Maruts, the gods of storm, and has a hideous and terrible voice.

Old Yama is the generous king of that happy world where good men dwell in a future life. Dressed in beautiful attire, they sit by the side of Yama in that kingdom, where are light, sparkling waters and everything necessary to the enjoyment of life.

Vach, the daughter of Ambhrina, the goddess of speech, proceeding as it does from Brahma, the Supreme Being, is his active power.

Recognising in herself the paramount and universal soul, she composes the following hymn in praise of herself.—Mandala X.

‘ Behold my prowess ! I rank with the Rudras, the Vasus, the Adityas and the Viswadevas. With my prowess I sustain the sun (Mitra), the ocean (Varuna), the firmament (Indra), the fire (Agni), and both Aswins. I uphold the moon (Soma), the destroyer of enemies, and the sun (Pushan). I bestow wealth and position on the faithful devotee who discharges his duty towards me by offering oblations, performing sacrifices and serving the deities. It is I, the Queen, the bestower of wealth, the possessor of wisdom, the fountain of knowledge, the foremost and first among those to whom worship is due, whom the gods adore, whose munificence is universal, whose presence is everywhere, and who pervades all things. He who eats his bread through me, hears through me, breathes through me, and sees through me, yet knows me not, is lost in oblivion ; listen, then, O ye, to the faith I pronounce. I declare this self whom gods and men worship and adore. On whomsoever falls my choice, I make him strong ; I make him virtuous, holy and wise. I had the bow for Rudra to kill the demon, foe of Brahma ; I wage war to slay their (people’s) foes ; my domain is on heaven and earth. I am omnipotent ; I am present everywhere, yet am invisible and pass like the

breeze. I am above this heaven, beyond this earth, and what is the Supreme Power, that am I.'

Soma was the juice of a plant from which wine was manufactured. Being used as a libation at the time of sacrifices, it came to be worshipped as a deity, and prayers were offered to it. The Ninth Mandala has hymns showing that the ancient Aryans were believers in a future world. The following hymns are remarkable for their beauty of expression :—

'O flowing Soma! Carry me to that immortal and imperishable home where there is eternal light and which is in heaven. Flow, Soma, for the sake of Indra.'

'Carry me to the world the king of which is Yama, where the gates of heaven are open and where mighty rivers flow. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma, for the sake of Indra.'

'Take me to that place where is the third heaven, where is the third monarchy of light in the sky and where man can wander at his pleasure. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma, for the sake of Indra.'

'Take me to those regions where the heart's desires are fulfilled, where the home of Pradhma is, where there is food and contentment. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma, for the sake of Indra.'

'Take me to that place where there is happiness and contentment, joy and merriment, where every desire of a restless and disturbed mind is fulfilled. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma, for the sake of Indra.'—IX, 113.

No known ancient language describes the phenomena of nature so beautifully as the Rig Veda. Among no nation of antiquity is to be found a collection of such lovely and graceful thoughts as are contained in this relic of Aryan literature and poetry. Their simplicity and sublimity pierce the heart and show the genuine love and awe which their authors entertained for the wonders of creation. The following are translations of some of these hymns :—

'What mortal can know thee, O immortal Ushas,* who art fond of our praise! O mighty one, whom art thou going to favour?'

'Far reaching, far extending, many-hued, splendid and brilliant Ushas! We know not thy abode, whether it be far or near.'

'O daughter of the sky, accept these our offerings and bestow on us eternal prosperity.'

* *Ushas*, the dawn; the Eos of the Greeks and the Aurora of the Latins.

'That young daughter of the sky, that Queen of all the treasure of the world, dressed in brilliant attire, casteth her shadow upon us and removeth darkness from us. Fortunate Ushas ! shine thou upon us at this spot to-day.'

'Pursuing the paths of mornings that have passed and are to be followed by mornings that are endless, brilliant Ushas dispels darkness and awakens all beings that lie unconscious in sleep like the dead.'

'How long have the dawns appeared ? How long shall they continue to appear ? The dawn of this morning follows those that have gone. Future dawns shall follow this resplendent Ushas.'

'Mortal beings who saw this ancient Ushas have gone before us ! We are now beholding it. People will come after us who shall behold future Ushas.'—I, 113.

'Abana goes gently to every house. She spreads light in all directions, bestows blessings on us and accepts our prayers.'

'O Ushas ! charming and fascinating as a bride adorned by her mother, thou unveilest thy form before us. Fortunate Ushas ! Remove impending darkness. No light but thine can remove it.'

It would appear from the above extracts that prayer in the early morning was considered efficacious and attended with blessings. From the remotest ages it has been treated as an auspicious hour, when the Supreme Deity showers mercy on all beings ; it is the time of acceptance of prayer, when the created is brought near to the Creator.

Such was the nature-worship inculcated in the Vedas ; such were the gods of the primitive races who dwelt on the banks of the Indus four thousand years ago, and who spread their conquest and civilisation to the east and south.

The Rig Veda contains interesting passages relating to the creation of the world, as imagined by the primitive Aryans, and concerning the knowledge of God. The following passages are remarkable :—

'The Allwise Father clearly saw, and, after deliberate thought, created the sky and the earth, in liquid form, which touched each other. When they had expanded far and wide, the sky and earth became separate.'

'He who has created all is All-powerful and Almighty. He creates all and nourishes them. He is above all and sees all. He is above the seat of the Seven Rishis. So do the wise men say, and wise men attain all their objects in life.'

'He who gave us life ; He who created us ; He who has knowledge of all the places in this universe, He is one, though

He has the names of many gods. Other beings desire to know Him.'

'He who created this all cannot come within the compass of your understanding. Your mind has not the capacity of grasping His wisdom; He is incomprehensible. People make guesses regarding Him and are involved in a mist. They eat their food to maintain their life, sing hymns and walk to and fro.'—X, 82.

The above hymns point to the conclusion that the different names of gods used in the Vedas, refer to one God whose great wisdom cannot be comprehended by man.

Mysteries of creation. The mysteries of creation have been thus described by the Vedic poets :—

'At that time whatever is was not, and what is not was not. There was neither entity, nor nonentity.'

'Earth was not, and this far-extending sky was not. What was it that covered everything? What place was assigned for each object? Did the wide and deep waters exist? At that time death was not, nor immortality. Distinction between night and day was not. There was the only ONE, who was alive and was breathing without afflation. He sustained his own self and stood in need of no external help. Other than him nothing existed which since has been. Darkness there was all over, and this universe was enveloped with darkness. All was without bounds and undistinguishable, like fluids mixed in waters.'

'Desire was created in mind, and what has been created in this world was the result of that desire, and it became the productive seed. Wise men contemplate, and in their wisdom try to find out and ascertain the reality of that which exists, as compared with that which does not exist.'

'Males were produced together with the creative germs. Other powers were also produced. Their luminous rays spread in both directions, and above and beneath.'

'Who can give the true accounts? Who can describe when all this was created; whence all these things came into existence? The gods came after the creation. Who can tell whence they came?'

'Whence was all this created? From whom did they come? Were they created by any, or were they not created? All this is known only to HIM who lives as the LORD of the Universe in the highest heaven. If He does not know this, no other being can.'—X, 129.

In such a way have the ancient Aryans attempted to penetrate into the mysteries of creation; but their thinkers have acknowledged their utter inability to lift the curtain which hangs between human knowledge and the action of the Supreme Master of the Universe.

The following are some of the verses showing how the Vedic Knowledge of God. Rishis rose from the conception of nature-gods, to that of one deity.

‘ In the beginning existed a golden child. From his very birth he was the Lord of all. He located the earth and sky in their respective quarters. Whom shall we worship with offerings ? Him who endowed us with life and strength ; whose commands are obeyed by all the gods ; whose shadow is immortality and whose slave is death.

‘ Whom shall we worship with offerings ? Him who by the force of his might is the only King of all living beings on earth which can see and move ; Him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds.

‘ Whom shall we worship with offerings ? Him by whose might these snowy mountains have been made and whose creatures are this earth and oceans ; Him whose arms these quarters of space are.

‘ Whom shall we worship with offerings ? Him who is the mainstay of the sky which is above us and of earth which surrounds us ; Him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty ; Him by whose aid the sun rises and imparts its lustre.

‘ Whom shall we worship with offerings ? Him who spread the waters through this universe. These held in their womb and gave birth to fire. That *One Being* who is the life of the gods made his appearance.

‘ Whom shall we worship with offerings ? Him who with his might controlled the waters that created energy ; Him who is the Lord above all gods ; He is One.

‘ Whom shall we worship with offerings ? Him who is the true, who created this earth and the sky, who created the glad and mighty waters. May he never do us any harm.

‘ Whom shall we worship with offerings ? O Lord of all the creatures ! None has created all these created things but Thou. May the object of our worship and adoration be realised. May we acquire wealth and joy.’—X, 121.

The Aitarya Aranya contains remarkable passages showing what notions the ancient Aryans entertained regarding the soul, its reality and actions. They are simple, noble and sublime, and display the grasp and power of imagination of those early races and their conviction of the unity of the Creator. Speaking of the reality of the soul, the text says :—

‘ What is this soul that prompts us to action ? Which is the soul ? Where is it ? What is it ? Can it be called that by which a man sees ? or by which he hears ? or by which he smells odours ? or which enables him to utter speech ? or to

distinguish between good and bad taste ? or discriminate between right and wrong ? Is it the seat of the heart, or the faculty of understanding ? Or is it the mind that wills ? or is it sensation ? or perception ? or thought ? or imagination ? or comprehension ? or recollection ? or retention ? or figure ? or feeling ? or assent ? or desire ? or wish ? or determination ? or animal action ?

‘ All these are but different names of the faculty by which ideas are conceived. This faculty of apprehension comprises the soul ; and what is that soul ? *Brahma*, the Lord of the Universe. He is Indra, the Supreme Being, the ruler-in-chief of all creatures (Prajapati); it is He who is represented in the several gods : it is He who shines in the five preliminary elements, earth, air, water, ethereal fluid and light. He supports them each individually and becomes their mainstay collectively when exhibited in different objects and forms, represented and joined by minute particles, be it in the production of a seed, or of an egg, or of a womb, or of hot moisture, or of plants ; be the object of creation man or beast, kine or horses, bipeds or quadrupeds, birds or insects, all that lives or moves, walks or flies ; or all that is stationary, all that the eye can see and imagination reflect. The great wisdom founded all things, the world and everything and object the world contains. That great wisdom, that great intellect and intelligence, is *Brahma*.’

The commentators describe the above *Mantra* as of such efficacy that, by repeating it in due form, sages ascend to the blissful regions of heaven, attain all the desires of their heart and become immortal.

The *Mantra* ends with the following prayer :—

‘ May what I have uttered be founded on intelligence ; may my mind incline to what I have chanted. O Thou ! Manifest thyself to me. O speech and mind ! obtain everlasting bliss from this sacred Veda. May what I have heard be impressed deep in my heart, and may what I have chanted be ever present before my mind. May I have the strength given me to understand the reality and the courage to speak the truth. May the *Mantra* preserve me ! may it preserve the teacher ! may it preserve the hearer !

We have alluded to the use of soma juice by the early Aryans, and to their being so much addicted to it that Soma itself came to be worshipped as a deity. The use of spirituous liquor seems to have been introduced among the Aryans at a comparatively late period. It never attained that sanctity and celebrity which its milder sister enjoyed before it ; nevertheless it was offered to gods as oblations, and no ceremony was complete without it. The Aryans became addicted to

the use of soma beer and strong spirits. The most acceptable and welcome offer to their gods was soma beer, and wine was publicly sold in streets. The Rig Sanhita contains verses showing that wine was kept in bottles of leather, and that it was sold without restriction to any body who wished to have it. The same wine was offered to the gods, while there were many sacred rites in which strong *arrak* was offered as libation, and an offer thus made was considered most auspicious. There was fermented intoxicating beverage. Although in the later Vedas its use was prohibited, and it was laid down that any person who indulged in wine committed a sin so heinous as to be equal to the murder of a Brahman, yet its use was never discontinued in any age. In Mannu and Yajnavalkya punishment for its use is thus provided: 'Should any Brahman drink it, then let water, or wine, or the urine of a cow, or milk, be boiled in any large vessel of metal, and let the culprit drink the boiled liquid and thus put an end to his accursed life.' A Brahman woman who drinks wine becomes incapable of approaching her husband. 'She is doomed to be born a slut, or a cow or a vulture.'

We have said before * that no mention of beef as an article of food is to be found in the early hymns of the Rig Veda. Nevertheless the Aryans were a beef-eating nation. The exact period when they commenced the practice, it is impossible to ascertain. Like the ancient Jews, the Aryans, feasted their guests on a well-grown and fat calf, and not only was this considered a mark of honour for the guest, but a present of beef was regarded as a wholesome and fortunate accompaniment in a voyage to the world unseen. A cow was slaughtered that it might rejoin the dead in his future existence and be of use to him there. The Vedas enjoin the observance of a

Ceremony of Gomedha or Aswamedha. ceremony called Gomedha, or Aswamedha, which literally means sacrifice of cattle. When the poet and hermit

Valmiki gave a feast to his respected friend and brother sage, Vasishtha, the well-known author of the Smritees which form the bulk of the Vedas, he slaughtered specially a large number of fat calves to please his honoured guest. In the ancient Shastric work on medicine known as Charaka Sanhita, compiled in the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, there is a chapter on food in which it is said that 'the flesh of a cow, buffalo or hog should not be used daily,' which shows that flesh of this kind was, without any reservation, used as food, though its daily use was prohibited on medical grounds. The author goes on to describe the benefits of using beef as food.

* Vide page 43 ante.

In the *Susruta*, the chapter on food gives a list of diseases in which the use of beef is prohibited. In some books the *arrak*, or juice, taken from beef is prescribed as a medicine for debility and weakness. The black *Yajur Veda* describes the various ceremonies in which the flesh of cattle must be used, and details are given of the kinds of cattle to be slaughtered to please special deities, a particular prayer being prescribed for each occasion.

Notwithstanding the general purity and simplicity of the age, cheating and fraud were practised in the days of the early Aryans, as now, and, strange to say, this happened among the nearest of kin and among brothers. A remarkable story is told in the fifteenth chapter of the first book of the *Rig Veda*. It seems that three ascetic brothers, while travelling in a sandy desert in the hot weather, under the burning rays of the sun, were oppressed with thirst. Happening to see a well, which was, however, unprovided with the means of raising water, two of the brothers assisted the third to descend into it. He lifted up water for his comrades, who, as soon as their thirst was satiated, made up their minds to rob him of his property which he had left on the bank of the well when going down. The traitor brothers stole it and left their faithful companion in the well, which they covered with a heavy cart-wheel. The distressed brother in his misfortune pronounced the hymns as invocation.*

In the Sixth Mandala there are hymns addressed to clouds, to frogs, and to the sun, which, being recited with worship in due form, are believed to occasion the fall of rain in times of drought after the lapse of a certain number of days not exceeding a week.

As noted elsewhere, the system of government was patriarchal,† each head of the family performing sacrificial duties himself, and being regarded as the head of the System of government.

* More than 500 years ago, Hafiz the nightingale of Shiraz speaking of his own age said :—

*In che shorest ki dar dour-i-qamar me binam,
Hama dîdâq puraz fitna o shar me binam;
Hech shafqat na brother ba brother darud
Hech mehre na padar ra ba pisar me binam.*

"What tumult am I witnessing in the course of rotation of the moon ?

"I see the whole world filled with mischief and wickedness ;

"A brother entertains no regard for a brother ;

"Nor a father cherishes affection for a son."

It is remarkable that world has gone on after the fashion complained of by Hafiz from the remotest ages.

The Vedas are the best evidence of this theory.

† See page 8 ante.

spiritual as well as the temporal world so far as the family circle was concerned. In later times powerful men, that is, men owning large tracts of cultivated land and numerous cattle, came to be recognised as heads of communities within certain territorial limits. As the desire for territorial aggrandisement and conquest increased and the power of these heads, still called patriarchs, expanded, they assumed royal functions and prerogatives and came to be styled Kings * (Rajas

Constitution of monarchy.

from the Sanskrit *Rājan*, King, cognate with the Latin *Reg*, of *rex*). By degrees he became the principal source from which all honour, command and authority flowed. The crown (Latin, *corona*) originally consisted of garlands of leaves worn on the head as the symbol of sovereignty. As luxury increased, it was made of flowers and shrubs, and, with the increase of wealth, of silver, gold and precious stones. At very early periods traceable in the Rig Veda, Indian monarchs are represented as enthroned, and a throne, or a high chair, came soon to be regarded as a common metaphorical expression for sovereign power and dignity. As in ancient Greece, so in India, all the greater gods were enthroned.

The first four chapters of the eighth *Mandala* give interesting particulars of ceremonies observed at the consecration of kings. A king was seated on a throne prepared for

Ceremony of coronation.

the occasion, and water, mixed with honey, clarified butter and spirituous liquor, poured on his head, and, this being done, his head was adorned with two sorts of grass and ears of corn. Solemn rites were performed by priests with due formalities. The following remarkable passage is given in connection with the enthronement ceremony of King Janamejaya, son of Parikhshit, who addressed the priests on the occasion of his installation thus : ' Priests, proficient and well versed in this ceremony, assist me (who am likewise conscious of its benefits) to celebrate this sacred rite. By virtue of this solemn observance, do I attain victory in single combat and inflict a signal defeat on a well organised army with an arrayed force. My power is such that neither the arrows of gods nor those of men can reach me. Verily, I shall live to the full extent of life and rule over the whole earth. Truly, a king who has well versed and qualified priests to assist him in performing sacred rites, lives the full period of life and acquires dominion over all the world, and neither the arrows of gods nor those of men can reach him.'

The Vedas have their calendar and take note of divisions of time, which appear to have been the same in the early days of the Aryans

* Sanskrit *Ganaka*, father, from the root *gan*, to beget.

as they are now. Thus, the Yajur Veda cites the following prayer to fire :—

‘Thou representest the first year of the cycle, the 2nd, the 3rd, the 4th, and the 5th ; may mornings belong to thee ; may days and nights, fortnights, months and seasons be under thy control ; may the year be thy part ; thou hast power over the present and that which is to come ; power to contract or expand ; thou art winged throughout ; remain thou firm like the firmament.’

The Vajasareiyi, or white Yajush, in the Satapatha Brahmana, which constitutes its fourteenth book, contains interesting particulars regarding the formation of man after the model of God, the analogy which the created bears to the Creator, and the peculiarities and qualities common to both. Thus, the text says in regard to the creation of man :—

“ Before the production of the body, the soul assumed a corporeal form. The Primeval Being, having thus manifested himself, looked around, and, seeing nothing else, said to himself : ‘ I am I,’ and thus a man, when called by another, answers, ‘ I am,’ before he declares the name by which he is known and identified.”

What is I but a consciousness of self-existence, derived from the Supreme Being, like the knowledge He has of himself?

Then look to the natural tendency of man to assert his superiority over others and to excel them in the paths of life. On this subject the Vedas say :—

‘ Being anterior to all which seeks supremacy in the world, He consumed by fire all that proved a hindrance to his own supremacy : hence it is that man, having knowledge of this truth, tries to overcome him who seeks to obtain preference over him.’

Man dreads certain objects, or certain notions. This quality, too, is attributed to God. The Vedas say :—

“ He felt dread ; hence it is that a man fears when alone. But he contemplated and said to himself, ‘ since I am everywhere,’ and nothing else exists besides me, why should I fear ? ’ Thus his terror forsook him ; for what should he be afraid of, since fear is entertained of another ? ”

Origin of female sex. Concerning the origin of the female sex it is said :—

‘ He, *i. e.* Viraj the Primeval and Universal manifested being, felt gloomy in his lonely position ; therefore man feels no delight when alone. He reflected and desired another ; and instantly he assumed the shape of a man and woman.

According to Hindú mythology, Viraj is the divine substance which divides itself into two separate persons. The first offspring was Mannú.

Origin of Mannu.

SYED MUHAMMAD LATIF, K. B., SH. U.

ART. VI.—JAINISM AND BUDDHISM.

By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH. D., C.I.E.

IN this paper I propose to give some account of recent researches regarding Jainism and Buddhism, with a more special reference to the former. Jainism is the great Indian rival of Buddhism, and is as ancient an institution as the latter, though until quite recent years its very existence before the middle ages was denied by the learned world, and even at the present time, by the side of the world-wide fame of its illustrious rival, it is hardly more than a name to the general public. It is only within the last twenty years that it has become the subject of a more serious and thorough-going study among the scholars of Europe. This is mainly owing to the fact that during that period the treasures of the Jain literature, which is almost as extensive as the Buddhist, have been, through the operations of the Government Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts and through private efforts, made more accessible to European students. The more intimate knowledge of Jainism, which has thus been obtained, has led to a revolution in the hitherto held views regarding its antiquity and its tenets. This rehabilitation of it as one of the most ancient monastic organisations of India is due, in the main, to the researches of Professor Jacobi, which were seconded by Hofrath Prof. Bühler, myself, and others.* The results of these researches I will attempt to sum up in the following pages.

The founder of Jainism is commonly known by the title of Mahāvīra, under which he is usually referred to in the sacred books of the Jains. His personal name, however, was Vardhamāna. In the books of the rival Order of the Buddhists, he is designated the Nātaputta, *i. e.*, "the son of the chief of the Nāta clan of Kshatriyas." For like Buddha, Mahāvīra was of high aristocratic descent, the son of a Rājā or petty king. His father Siddhārtha was the head of a Kshatriya clan, the so-called Nātas or Nāyas, who were settled in the suburb Kollāga of the once flourishing town of Vaiçālī, whence it is that Mahāvīra is occasionally designated the Vēsālīya or "the man of Vaiçālī." Vaiçālī is the modern Besārh about 27 miles north of Patna. Anciently it consisted of three

* For detailed information see Prof. Jacobi's *Translations of the Āchārāṅga and Kalpa Sūtras* (1864) and the *Uttarādhyaṃyana and Sūtrakpiṅga Sūtras* (1895), Hofrath Prof. Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jains* (1887), and my own *Translation of the Upāsakadāṣa Sūtra* (1888); also Prof. Jacobi's *Kalpa Sūtra*, published in 1879, and a paper of his on the *Origin of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Sects* in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1884.

distinct portions, called Vaiçālī, Kuṇḍagāma and Vāṇiyagāma and forming, in the main, the quarters inhabited by the Brāhman, Kshatriya and Baniyā castes respectively. At the present day it has entirely disappeared, but the sites of its three component parts are still marked by the villages of Besārḥ, Basukuṇḍ and Baniyā. While it existed, it had a curious political constitution; it was an oligarchic republic; its government was vested in a Senate, composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, and presided over by an officer who had the title of King, and was assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-Chief. Siddhārtha was married to Triṣalā, who was a daughter of Cheṭaka, the then governing King of the republic. From her Mahāvīra was born, in or about 599 B. C., and he was, therefore, a very highly connected personage. This accounts for the fact that, like his rival Buddha, in the earlier years of his ministry, he addressed himself chiefly to the members of the aristocracy and to his fellow castemen, the Kshatriyas. At the usual age he married, and his wife, Yaçodā, bore him a daughter, Anojjā, who in due time was married to Jamālī, a fellow-nobleman, and, later on, one of his followers. He seems to have lived in the parental house, till his father died, and his elder brother, Nandivardhana, succeeded to what principality they owned. Then, at the age of thirty, he, with the consent of the head of his house, entered the spiritual career, which in India, just as in Europe, offered a field for the ambition of younger sons. In Kollāga, the Nāya clan kept up a religious establishment, doubtless similar to those still existing in the present day. There is one, near Calcutta, in the Maniktola suburb, which is probably known to most of us. Such establishments consist of a park or garden, enclosing a temple and rows of cells for the accommodation of monks; sometimes also a stūpa or sepulchral monument. The whole complex is not unusually called a Chaitya, though this is strictly only the name of the shrine within it. The Chaitya of the Nāya clan was called Duipalāsa, and it was kept up for the accommodation of the monks of Pārçvanātha's order, to whom the Nāya clan professed allegiance.

Mahāvīra, on adopting the monk's vocation, would naturally retire to the Duipalāsa Chaitya and join the Order of Pārçvanātha. But the observances of that order do not seem to have satisfied his notions of stringency, one of the cardinal points of which was absolute nudity. So, after a trial of one year, he separated, and discarding his clothes, wandered about the country of North and South Bihār, even as far as modern Rājmaḥal. Considering his tenet of absolute nudity, it is no wonder that it took twelve years before he succeeded in gaining

a following that acknowledged his divine mission. It was now that he obtained the title of Mahāvīra or 'Great Hero,' and was acknowledged to be a Jina and Kēvalin, *i. e.*, a holy and omniscient person. It is his title of Jina, or 'Spiritual Conqueror,' from which the names Jainism and Jain, by which his system and his sect are now generally known, are derived ; and it is Mahāvīra's initial connection with Pārçvanātha's order which accounts for the fact that the latter saint is reckoned in the Jain hierarchy as the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, and that his image is set up in so many Jain temples. The famous sacred hill of Pārçvanātha (or Paresnāth, as it is commonly called), with its Jain temples, also takes its name from him. The last thirty years of his life Mahāvīra passed in teaching his religious system and organising his order of ascetics, which was patronised chiefly by those princes with whom he was related through his mother, the kings of Videha, Magadha and Anga, *i. e.*, those of North and South Bihār. In the towns and villages which lay in these parts he spent almost the whole period of his ministry, though he extended his travels as far north as Srāvastī, near the Nepalese frontier, and, perhaps, as far south as the Paresnāth hill. The area of his ministry, therefore, practically coincides with that of his great contemporary Buddha. His life, on the whole, was an uneventful one. With Buddha, who, as we now see, was his most formidable rival, he does not appear to have come into any prominent conflict. The Jain sacred books hardly notice him. On the other hand, they tell us of a fierce hostility between Mahāvīra and another great spiritual chief of those days. This was Gosāla, the son of a Mankhali, or beggar, who had set up as the head of a section of the Ājīvika order of monks, an order which at that time and for some subsequent centuries was so important as to be mentioned in one of Açoka's pillar edicts about 234 B.C., but which has long since ceased to exist. This Gosāla appears to have been the first who attached himself to Mahāvīra, when the latter commenced his naked peregrinations. But, after following Mahāvīra for six years, he quarrelled with his master, and set up as a chief of ascetics himself, and that, two years earlier than Mahāvīra himself ventured to do. This conduct naturally enough explains the intense hostility of Mahāvīra, who resented the presumption of his former disciple in taking precedence of his master.* Besides Gosāla, the apostate, Mahāvīra had

* I should mention that Prof. Jacobi holds a slight different view of Gosāla's position. According to him Gosāla and Mahāvīra were two independent sect founders, who only associated for six years with the intention of combining their sects and fusing them into one ; but that at last they quarrelled, probably on the question who was to be the leader of the united sect ; and thus their bitter hostility is accounted for.

eleven chief disciples, who all remained true to him, and who are said to have, between them, instructed 4,200 Sramanas, or monks ; but only one of them, named Sudharman, survived his master, and it is through him that Jainism has been continued to the present day. Mahāvīra died in the seventy-second year of his life, in the small town of Pāvā, in the Patna district, which is still considered one of the most sacred spots by the Jains. The traditional dates of his birth and death are 599 B.C. and 527 B.C. As modern research has shown, they cannot be far wrong. The corresponding dates for Buddha, who lived to the age of eighty, are 557 and 477 B.C. It is certain that the two men were contemporaries, and that Mahāvīra died some years before Buddha. The former, like his great contemporary, must have been an eminently impressive personality. This accounts for his great success as a sect founder. He certainly succeeded in eventually bringing over to his way of thinking the whole order of Pārśvanātha, so that the name of Nirgrantha, or "one without any ties," which originally belonged to that order, attached itself to the order of Mahāvīra. The only essential point of difference between them was the question of wearing a modicum of clothes. The followers of Pārśvanātha appear to have yielded that point for a time. The difference, however, being one on a point of the merest decency, necessarily continued to subsist in a dormant state, till a few centuries later it woke up again and, as we shall see further on, led to the great division of the Jaina order into the Svetāmbaras and Digambaras, or the 'White-clothed' and 'Unclothed ones.' The term Nirgrantha, or Nigantha, indeed, was the name by which the Jains were originally known. They are mentioned under that name in the same pillar edict of Aśoka, about 234 B.C., which, as I have already remarked, also names the Ājīvika monks ; and it remained their name for many centuries afterwards ; for Hiuen Tsiang, in the seventh century A. D., still knows them under no other name. How it came to fall into disuse and to give place to the comparatively modern name, Jain, has not yet been explained.

I will notice, in passing, the coincidence between Christ and Mahāvīra with respect to the number twelve of their disciples, which in either case includes an apostate. An interdependence of Christianity and Jainism, I believe, has never been seriously propounded, as has been done in the case of Buddhism with respect to similar coincidences. Such coincidences are apt to be urged too far ; and the instance I have noted is an instructive one in that respect : isolated coincidences possess very little evidential force.* With regard to Buddhism and

* For another curious coincidence, relating to the parable of the Three Merchants, see Jacobi's Translation of the Uṭṭarādhyaṇa Sūtra, p. 29.

Jainism there are numerous coincidences in smaller details between the lives and doctrines of Buddha and Mahāvīra ; and this circumstance was long considered a good reason for discrediting the story of the latter and the early existence of the Jain sect. But the sketch of Mahāvīra's life which I have given above shows that in the main it was entirely different from Buddha's.

Before touching on the alleged doctrinal and ceremonial coincidences, it may be well to point out that neither Buddhism nor Jainism is a religion in the strict sense of that word. They are rather monastic organisations. They are orders of begging fraternities, in many respects similar to the Dominicans and Franciscans among ourselves. Both were founded at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries B.C. That period was a very active one in Northern India with respect to religious matters. The times were rife with religious movements. Many monastic orders sprung up : Buddhism and Jainism were only two among them, though they were the most important and most enduring. A third contemporary order, that of the Ājivikas, which enjoyed only a transitory existence, has been already mentioned by me incidentally. It must not be thought, however, that the institution of monasticism was any innovation on the existing religious conditions of the country. That institute formed an essential part of the original Brahmanism. The old Brahmanic religion ordained man's life to be spent in four consecutive stages, called Āśramas. A man was to commence life as a religious student, then to proceed to be a householder, next to go into retirement as an anchorite, and finally to spend the declining years of his life as a wandering Sanyāsin, or mendicant. These Sanyāsins, or Brahmanic mendicants, form the prototype of the great monastic orders that arose in the sixth century B.C., the only difference apparently being that the Brahmanic mendicants never formed themselves into such large organisations as the Buddhists and Jains. The rules and observances which were prescribed for the former were either adopted or imitated by the latter. It is this circumstance which explains most of the coincidences that have been noticed between the Buddhists and Jains : they followed the same model. Thus, to mention but one striking example, the rule of *ahimsā*, or 'respect for life,' which forms such a prominent feature in Buddhism and even more so in Jainism, is one which was binding on all Brahmanic mendicants. In course of time a tendency arose in Brahmanism to limit the entry into the stage of a mendicant to persons of the Brahman caste. It is probably this circumstance which first led to the formation of non-brahmanic orders such as those of the Buddhists and

Jains, which were chiefly and originally intended for persons of the second, or Kshatriya, caste, though eventually other castemen were also admitted. It is easy to understand that these non-brahmanic orders would not be looked upon by the Sanyāsins as quite their equals, even when they were quite as orthodox as themselves, and on the other hand, that this treatment by the Brahmanic ascetics would beget in their rivals a tendency to dissent and even to opposition. Thus the Buddhists and Jains were led not only to discard the performance of religious ceremonies which was also done by the Brahmanic mendicants, but to go further and even discontinue the reading of the Vedas. It was this latter practice which really forced them outside the pale of Brahmanism. The still very prevalent notion that Buddhism and Jainism were reformatory movements, and that, more especially, they represented a revolt against the tyranny of caste, is quite erroneous. They were only a protest against the caste exclusiveness of the Brahmanic ascetics; but caste as such, and as existing outside their orders, was fully acknowledged by them. Even inside their orders, admission, though professedly open to all, was at first practically limited to the higher castes. It is also significant for the attitude of these orders to the Brahmanic institutions of the country that, though in spiritual matters their so-called lay-adherents were bound to their guidance, yet with regard to ceremonies, such as those of birth, marriage and death, they had to look for service to their old Brahmanic priests. The Buddhist or Jain monk functionated as the spiritual director to their respective lay communities, but the Brahmans were their priests.

It will thus be seen that the points of resemblance undoubtedly existing between the orders of the Buddhists and Jains are the natural result of the surrounding conditions under which they both arose and lived. Their points of difference are numerous, in regard both to doctrine and practice. They are so many, and often so minute and technical, that it would be difficult to render them intelligible within a small compass; nor would such an exposition be of any general interest. Those whom it may interest will find the subject fully and ably discussed by Professor Jacobi in the Introductions to his Translations (see footnote,* p. 315). I may mention, however, two points which I believe have not been elsewhere noticed, but which, to my mind, very clearly bring out the extreme difference in the character and practice of the two orders. There is a celebrated term common to both the Buddhists and Jains: the term *tri-ratna*, or "the three jewels." With the former these are Buddha, the Law and the Order; but with the latter they are Right faith, Right cognition, and Right conduct. These mottoes, as we

might call them, of the two orders are significant. That of the Buddhists refers to concrete, that of the Jains to abstract, things. The former shows that Buddhism was animated by a practical and active spirit, while the latter shows Jainism to have been speculative and unenterprising. The history of the two Orders proves this inference. While Buddhism, with its active missionary spirit, spread far and wide beyond the borders of India, and, outgrowing the narrow bounds of a mere monastic order, developed into popular religions in Ceylon, Burma, Tibet and other lands, Jainism always lived a quiet, unobtrusive life within the borders of India, travelling but little, if at all, beyond them. Again, the term applied collectively to the order, both by the Buddhists and Jains, was *sangha*, or "the Order." But the Jains qualified it by the addition of the further term *chaturvidha*, or "four-fold." With them the monastic order included four classes of persons : monks, nuns, lay-brothers and lay-sisters. With the Buddhists the order included only two classes : monks and nuns ; their lay-adherents stood in no essential or organic connection with them. It is obvious that no order of mendicant monks could possibly maintain its existence without some sort of relation to the surrounding secular community. It must of necessity depend for its sustenance and support on those within that community who, out of reverence for the Order, supported it with their alms. But the two orders observed a very different policy towards their respective lay-adherents. With the Buddhists they had no part and parcel in the monastic organisation. They were not formally admitted into communion with the order ; they had not to take any vows ; there were no rules to regulate their position or conduct ; no regular devotional services were held for them ; neither was there any formal exclusion of any unworthy lay-person ; in fact, the position of the lay-adherents was so loose and informal that a lay adherent of the Buddhist order might at the same time be also an adherent of another order ; there were no rules prohibiting such an anomalous position. The proud feeling of being a member of Buddha's great order and partaking of its spiritual benefits was not permitted to the Buddhist lay-adherent. Very different was the case of the Jain lay-adherent. His position was exactly the reverse in all the points just enumerated. He formed an integral part of the organisation, and thus was made to feel that his interests were bound up with those of his order. In this matter Buddhism made a fatal mistake. For their treatment of their lay-adherents was one of the main causes of the eventual total disappearance of their order from India, the land of their home. When in the course of time, in consequence of the change of religious tendencies which already began to operate in the seventh century A.D., at the time of the celebrat-

ed Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, the recruitment of their order declined ; and when, later on, the pressure of the spiritual opposition of the great Brahmanic orders, founded in the ninth century A.D., by Sankarāchārya and his disciples, increased ; and when finally, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., the storm of the iconoclastic Muhammadan conquest swept over India, and, as related in the histories of Tārānāth and Minhāj-ud-dīn, inflicted wholesale massacre on the few still surviving monastic settlements, Buddhism simply collapsed ; it utterly disappeared. Having maintained no inseparable bond with the broad strata of the secular life of the people, it had no chance of recruitment, it could neither maintain, nor recover itself. The lay-followers of Buddhism, having lost their monks to whom no paramount interest bound them, by a most natural process relapsed into Brahmanism, in which they again found, as they had done before the advent of Buddhism, not only their priests, but also their spiritual directors. Some small portions only of the former Buddhist laity, here and there, especially in Bengal, preferred to keep aloof, maintaining a caricatured form of Buddhism without Buddha and his Order, in which it is only with great difficulty that one can recognise the distorted traces of the once flourishing system of Buddha. The discovery of these caricatured survivals of Buddhism in Bengal is mainly due to the researches of Mahāmahopādhyaya, Pundit Hara Prasād Shāstri, who has unearthed them, as it were, in the followers of Dharma, one of the well-known units of the Buddhist Trinity, and published an account of them in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1895. From them Dharmtolla Street takes its name, and their Dharma temple still stands in the modern Jaun Bazar Street.

Very different was the fate of Jainism, which securely lived through the stormy times that shattered Buddhism. It has maintained itself quietly and unobtrusively to the present day ; and its prospering monastic settlements and lay-communities are still to be found in Western and Southern India and Bengal ; one of them we have close to our own doors, in the Maniktola suburb of this city. Jainism, indeed, is the only one of the almost primeval monastic orders of India which has survived down to the present day. But the history of an order of such a retiring character can necessarily offer but few points of general interest. There is really only one event in it which, in its results, obtrudes itself on the notice of the outside world. This is the great schism, which has been already alluded to, into the two divisions of the Svetāmbaras and Digambaras, or the 'White-clothed' and the 'Unclothed' monks. The division took place, as indicated by the name, on the question of wearing clothes, though there are also other differences both in point of doctrine and

practice, which, however, are of no general interest. The two divisions maintain an entirely separate and even antagonistic existence ; they possess also almost entirely distinct literatures, and the most ancient class of sacred books, the so-called *Angas* and *Pūrvas*, have been preserved only in the *Svetāmbara* division. Moreover, both divisions are now divided into an extensive ramification of schools and lines of teachers which gradually grew up in the course of centuries. The historical, or rather chronicling, spirit is as strongly developed in the Jains as it is in the Buddhists. They keep up regular *Paṭṭāvalis*, or lists of the succession of teachers, several of which have been published by Hofrath Prof. Bühler, Dr. Klatt and myself in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica* ; and their sacred and other books are throughout interspersed with an abundance of chronicling notices, which have been extracted and recorded, in addition to the scholars already mentioned, by Professors Weber and Bhandarkar.* From all these materials the Jain tradition regarding their Order and their Sacred Books may be gathered. In its main features it is as follows.

In the second century after Mahāvīra's death (about 310 B.C.) a very severe famine, lasting twelve years, took place in the country of Magadha, the modern Bihār, beyond which, as yet, the Jain order does not seem to have spread. At that time Chandra Gupta, of the Maurya dynasty, was king of the country, and Bhadrabāhu was the head of the still undivided Jain community. Under the pressure of the famine, Bhadrabāhu, with a portion of his people, emigrated into the *Karṇāṭa* (or *Canarese*) country in the south of India. Over the other portion that remained in Magadha, *Sthūlabhadra* assumed the headship. Towards the end of the famine, during the absence of Bhadrabāhu, a Council assembled at *Pāṭaliputra*, the modern *Patna* ; and this Council collected the Jain sacred books, consisting of the eleven *Angas* and the fourteen *Pūrvas*, which latter are collectively called the twelfth *Anga*. The troubles that arose during the period of famine produced also a change in the practice of the Jains. The rule regarding the dress of the monks had been, that they should ordinarily go altogether naked, though the wearing of certain clothes appears to have been allowed to the weaker members of the order. Those monks who remained behind felt constrained by the exigencies of the time to abandon the rule of nakedness, and to adopt the "white" dress. On the other hand, those who, out of religious zeal, chose to exile themselves rather than admit a change of the rule of nakedness, made that rule compulsory on all the

* See Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts in Berlin, 1888 and 1892 ; also Prof. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84. For a fuller list, see Prof. Jacobi's Introduction to his Translation of *Jaina Sūtras*, Part II,

members of their portion of the order. When, on the restitution of peace and plenty, the exiles returned to their country, the divergence of practice which had in the meantime fully established itself between the two parties, made itself too markedly felt to be overlooked. The returned exiles refused to hold fellowship any longer with the (in their opinion) peccant portion that had remained at home. Thus the foundation was laid of the division between the two sections of the Digambaras, or naked ones, and Svetāmbaras, or white-clothed ones. As a consequence of this difference, the Digambaras refused to acknowledge the collection of Sacred Books made by the Council of Pāṭaliputra ; and they, therefore, declare that, for them, the Pūrvas and Angas are lost. The difference between the two parties, however, did not at once result, in a definite schism ; to this it does not appear to have come till a few centuries later, when the final separation took place in the year 79 or 82 A.D. On this point both sections are practically unanimous, their dates only differing by three years. At this time the Jain order had already spread far beyond the borders of its narrow home in Bihār, and ramified into numerous schools and sub-divisions, some of which (as we shall presently see) possessed already flourishing settlements in Mathurā. It would seem that this spirit of expansion developed in the Order principally in the time of Suhastin, who was the head of the Svetāmbara section towards the end of the third century B. C. ; for it is just under him that the Paṭṭāvalis record an extraordinarily large number of divisions and sub-divisions. It is certain that about the middle of the second century B.C. the Jain order had spread as far as the southern part of Orissa ; for the Jains are referred to in Khāravēla's inscription on the Khāṇḍagiri rock, near Cuttack.

In the course of time the collection of sacred books, or Siddhānta, as it is called by the Jains, which the Council of Pāṭaliputra had established, fell more or less into disorder. It even was in danger of becoming extinct, owing to the scarcity of manuscripts. It became, therefore, necessary to reduce it to order, and to fix it in an authorised edition of manuscript "books." This was done in 154 A.D., at a Council held in Vallabhi in Gujarāt, under the presidency of Devarddhi, the head of one of the principal schools.

It is clear from this tradition that the collection of the Jain sacred books, as preserved by the Svetāmbara section of the community, goes back to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century before the Christian era ; for the Council of Pāṭaliputra which made the collection must have taken place about 300 B.C. The very process of a collection points to the fact of a previous existence ; and the tradition of the Jains maintains that the Pūrvas, one of the two main

divisions of the collection, were taught by Mahāvīra himself to his immediate disciples, the so-called Gaṇadharas, and the latter composed the Angas, the other main division. The name Pūrva means an 'earlier' composition; and the Pūrvas were evidently called so because they existed prior to the Angas. At the time of the Council of Pāṭaliputra a large portion of them, as the Jains themselves admit, had been already lost; and what still remained was then embodied in a twelfth Anga. The Jain traditions about these Pūrvas clearly point to the fact that there was once an original set of sacred books, the remains of which were, by the Pāṭaliputra Council, re-cast and collected in a new form, better adapted to the changed circumstances of the time.

Such is the tradition of the Jain Order with respect to its history and its sacred books. Until some thirty years ago, the prevalent disposition was to treat this tradition with great distrust. The presence of the strongly developed and curiously exact chronicling spirit, however, which I have already remarked on, as manifest throughout most of the Jain literature, lends but little support to that attitude; and this fact has been increasingly realised through the more intimate acquaintance with Jain literature which has been gained, during the last twenty years, through the publication of Jain books made by Professors Jacobi, Leumann, myself and others. Professor Jacobi, by a careful examination of the language and style of the Jain sacred books, which showed their very archaic character, contributed, not a little, to this result. Still, so long as no independent and incontrovertible evidence could be brought forward in corroboration of the statements of the Jain tradition, no full conviction of its general reliability could be hoped for. The discovery of such independent corroborative evidence is the most striking feature of the period I am reviewing, and is entirely due to the acumen of Hofrath Prof. Bühler, of Vienna.* On making a re-examination of certain inscriptions, found in 1871 by the late Major-General Sir A. Cunningham in the ruins of the Kankhālī mound in Mathurā,† Hofrath Prof. Bühler discovered among them some which made mention of several teachers and sub-divisions of the Jains. Accordingly he arranged with Dr. J. Burgess, who was at that time at the head of the Archæological Department, to make a thorough excavation of the Kankhālī mound. The work of excavation was carried out, under the superintendence of Dr.

* His researches on this subject are contained in a series of papers published in the volumes of the *Vienna Oriental Journal* for 1887 to 1891 and 1896, and in the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna for 1897.

† See his Survey Reports, Vol. II.

Führer, during the working seasons of 1889 to 1893, and again in 1896. An abundant yield of fresh inscriptions was obtained, impressions of all of which were sent to Hofrath Prof. Bühler. By him they were carefully examined, and a selection of the most valuable published, with facsimiles, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, as well as in the two first volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*. What makes these inscriptions particularly valuable is the fact that many of them are dated in years of the Indo-Scythian era, that is, the era which was used by the Indo-Scythian kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. These kings flourished in the two first centuries of the Christian era, and their empire included North-Western India, as far down as Mathurā. The dates range from the 5th to the 98th year of that era, and are, according to the usually accepted interpretation, equivalent to A.D. 83—176. Accordingly they prove the existence of the Jain Order in Mathurā at as early a date as the first and second centuries of our era. Most of these inscriptions were found engraved on the pedestal of Jain statues, and recorded the dedication of these statues to some Jain temple by Jain laymen or laywomen under the direction of some Jain monk or nun, whose spiritual pedigree is carefully recorded. These dedications furnish corroborative evidence on many points of great interest.

In the first place, the divisions and sub-divisions of the Order to which the directing monk or nun are recorded to have belonged, strikingly agree with those the existence of which, in the first and second centuries of our era, is also recorded in the *Kalpasūtra* and other books of the Jains. One of the Gaṇas, or divisions, which is most frequently mentioned is the Kautika, which was founded by Susthita, who was at the head of the order in the first half of the second century B.C. Moreover, this division belonged to the Svetāmbara section of the Jains. Thus we have here not only indirect evidence of the existence of the Svetāmbara Jains in the middle of the second century before Christ, but also direct evidence of the spread of the Kautika division, in the first and second centuries A.D., as far as Mathurā, where, to judge from the frequent mention of their names in the inscriptions, they had a numerous and prosperous settlement. At that period there was also a Jain settlement in Bulandshahar, for the inscriptions also mention monks of a sub-division called after Uchchanagara, or Varāṇa, both of which anciently were names of that town.

In the second place, the inscriptions prove the existence of Jain nuns as a regular part of the Order; and, moreover, show that these nuns were very active in the interest of their faith, especially among the female members of the lay community, since in all cases, except one, laywomen dedicated images at

the request of nuns. This fully agrees with the statements of the Jain scriptures. Moreover, it affords an additional proof of the very early split of the Order into the two sections of the Svetāmbaras and Digāmbaras. For the latter do not admit nuns into the order; only the Svetāmbaras do so. The inscriptions, therefore, prove that the Mathurā settlement was one of the Svetāmbara section, and that the split of the Order was already fully established in the first century of our era.

Another point clearly brought out by the inscriptions is the position of the lay element in the Jain community. I have already remarked that that element formed an integral part of the Jain organisation, and shown the very important bearing of this point on the fortunes of the Jain Order. The inscriptions apply to the laymen and laywomen the terms *Srāvaka* and *Srāvikā* respectively,—terms which have survived to the present day in the form of *Sarāogī*, by which the Jain laity are often known. Among the Buddhists the term *Srāvaka* is also used, but there it signifies an Arhat, that is a monk of a particular degree of sanctity. This circumstance not only marks the position of the lay element within the Jain order, but also brings out clearly an essential difference between the two great Orders of Jains and Buddhists.

Again, another point worthy of notice is that the inscriptions often mention the caste of Jain lay-people. I have already remarked how erroneous the idea is that Jainism or Buddhism intended to subvert the caste system. A lay convert to Jainism does not loose his caste by his conversion. He may have to give up the exercise of the trade of his caste; but, if he wants a wife for himself or his son, or a husband for his daughter, he can get them only from his old caste. Thus one inscription records a donation by a layman of the *lohār*, or smith's caste. He cannot have been a smith after his conversion, because Jainism forbids that trade to a layman. The reference, therefore, must be to the caste to which he or his ancestors belonged. It appears, however, from the inscriptions, that even then, as in our days, most of the lay-people belonged to the mercantile rather than the artificing classes.

I might mention many more points of detail in which the inscriptions discovered in Mathurā corroborate the statements of the Jain books; but I must refer those who may be interested in the subject, for further information to the papers themselves of Hofrath Prof. Bühler. There is one point, however, which I must not pass over. There is hardly another thing which has hitherto been considered a more characteristic external mark of Buddhism than the well-known Wheel and Stūpa and their accessories. The late Pundit Bhagwanlāl Indrajī was the first to point out, in a paper on the Hathigumpha inscription, read in

1883 before the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists in Leyden, that the Jains also worshipped stūpas. But Hofrath Prof. Bühler's investigations have now fully proved that the hitherto accepted opinion about the Wheel and Stūpa must henceforth be relegated to the limbo of popular errors. The remnants of a Jain stūpa have been discovered at Mathurā. Indeed, under the influence of the old error, it was at first thought that it must be Buddhist; but, when ruins of two Jain temples were found in the closest proximity, and all the other numerous evidences of Jainism, such as inscriptions and images of Jain saints, came to light, the true character of the stūpa as a Jain monument could no longer be doubted. This discovery has been confirmed by the discovery of sculptured slabs on which Jain stūpas with all their accessories are fully represented, closely resembling those hitherto known to us as Buddhist. Professor Bühler has even gone further and shown that the building and worshipping of stūpas was an ancient practice common not only to the Buddhists and Jains, but also to other and even orthodox Brahmanic orders of ascetics. One of the most curious discoveries is an inscribed and sculptured slab which formed the pedestal of a Jain statue. It shows the representation of a Wheel mounted on a trident, exactly in the same form as seen on Buddhist monuments, and proves that the celebrated Wheel is not a distinctive mark of the Buddhists. The inscription states that the statue was put up by a Jain lay-woman under the advice of her spiritual director, and the portrait-figures of these are sculptured on the slab in the act of worshipping the sacred symbol. The inscription further states that the statue was put up in a year probably corresponding to 157 A.D., at a votive stūpa which was built by the Gods. That phrase, "built by the Gods," shows that the stūpa must have been an extremely ancient one, since in the second century A. D. its real origin had already been forgotten, and a myth did duty for historical truth. The conclusion is inevitable that the stūpa must have been erected several centuries earlier, and this is confirmed by a tradition which Hofrath Prof. Bühler has discovered in one of the Jain books.* According to that tradition, the stūpa was still in existence in the middle of the ninth century A. D., when it underwent repairs, and was encased in stone. Originally it is said to have been built of bricks, and to have enshrined a gold casket dedicated to Pārçvanātha. This gold casket had been brought, as it is said, by the gods to Mathurā, and was for a long time kept exposed to view for the worship of the Jains; but afterwards when one of the ancient

*Jinaprabha's Tīrthakalpa. See the transactions of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, Vol. CXXXVII.

kings of Mathurā attempted to appropriate it, a brick stūpa was built over it. This probably refers to the second century before Christ, when the Jains settled in Mathurā and when they may have brought the casket with them from Bihār: the king might be the Indo-Scythian Kanishka, who reigned about the commencement of our era.

I have already remarked that Jainism, strictly speaking, is a monastic organisation. Its object, like that of any other Indian monastic system, is the devising of a more direct road to the attainment of the goal of the Brahmanic religion, namely, liberation from the bonds of transmigration. Every man, and, in fact, every living being, under the ordinary conditions of life in the world, is subject to the misery of an unceasing cycle of births and deaths. He is involved in the general struggle for life, and has to make continuous efforts to maintain himself in it; but seeing that these efforts, or *karman*, as they are called, never attain a satisfying result within the span of any ordinary life, while yet every cause must have a commensurate effect, they necessitate man's re-birth to a new span of life. This new life runs a similar course as the preceding one, and eventuates in another re-birth; and thus the wheel of life, or the cycle of re-births, runs on unceasingly. The only remedy lies in a radical reversal of the inner man, an inward breaking with the attachment to life, a thorough abnegation of the world. This is the celebrated *Nirvāṇa* of the Jains. It is also the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddhists, as well as of the Brahmins, though with the latter other synonymous terms, such as *moksha*, or *mukti*, are more customary. But what is to be noted is that this *Nirvāṇa* is not a state to be reached after death, but analogous to regeneration in the Christian system, a spiritual condition of the soul, attainable within the present life by the application of the proper means. It is a condition of freedom (*Moksha*) and peace, while the previous condition of the soul is one of bondage (*bandha*) and unrest. With regard to the proper means of attaining it, Jains, Buddhists and Brahmins differ. Those recognized among the Jains are summed up in their motto: Right faith, Right cognition, Right conduct.

By Right faith the Jains mean steadfast faith in, and absolute reliance on, the founder of their Order as the discoverer of the path to *Nirvāṇa*. He was a man, and, as such, discovered it within his own experience, and is thus able to communicate it to other men. He discovered it solely by himself, unaided by either teacher or holy scripture, hence he is called the *Kevalin*, or "He who knows it by himself alone." He accomplished that feat of the radical inward reversal; hence he is called the *Mahāvīra*, or "the Great Hero." He accomplished it by the conquest of the "natural man" within him; hence he is called

the *Jina*, or the "Conqueror;" hence also he is the *Arhat*, or "Holy One." He has found and thus made the path to Nirvāṇa for others; hence he is called the *Tīrthāṅkara*, or "the Path-maker." The last term, I may here add, is peculiar to the Jains; and hence it is used by the Buddhists as a term of opprobrium to signify a false teacher. All these terms, of course, are applied to Vardhamāna, the founder of Jainism; but it is only the title Mahāvīra which has attached itself to him as a personal designation; while to the status of a Kevalin, or Arhat, any monk may raise himself. The title Tīrthāṅkara is limited to twenty-four persons, who are supposed to have, in past ages, at intervals, founded or revived the Jain system. The last of this series is the Mahāvīra Vardhamāna. His immediate predecessor was Pārçvanātha, who, in all probability, was also a historical personage and the founder of a monastic Order of mendicants, called Nirgranthas. His order, as I have already remarked, was eventually absorbed into that founded by Mahāvīra. But a division of Jains still exists, the so-called Upakeça Gachchha, who trace the list of their chiefs up to Pārçvanātha.* The remaining twenty-two Tīrthāṅkaras are no doubt mythical.

Right cognition refers to the correct understanding of the Jain theory of the world. It is an atheistic theory. There is no creator of the world: the latter exists by itself and is eternal. The ultimate elements out of which this theory is built up are six: mind (*jīva*) and matter (*rudgala* or *ajīva*), space and time, right system (*dharma*) and wrong system (*adharma*). Mind and matter consist respectively of an innumerable number of individual souls and individual atoms of matter. Both sets of individual beings exist and move within space and time; and their mutual relations are regulated by a right or a wrong system. The atoms combine into the four grosser elements of fire, water, earth and wind; and these, again, singly or in various combinations, form bodies for the souls: for there are souls not only in men, but also in animals, in plants, even in every inorganic object, such as a stone, a clod of earth or a drop of water. The condition of a soul depends on the condition of its body; in an inorganic body the soul's consciousness is dormant, while in an organic body it is active, and most so in the human body. This leads to further differences among embodied souls; some as the trees, also the earth-souls and water-souls, are immoveable, while animals, also the fire-souls and wind-souls, are moveable; again animals may have two, three, four or five senses.† It is the fact of the embodiment of

* See my paper on this Gachchha in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.

† Worms, etc., are said to have only two senses, insects have three or four senses, beasts and men have five senses.

the soul which is the cause of all the misery of its mundane existence, and of this misery the soul becomes only thoroughly conscious when it is embodied in a human form. The embodiment of the soul involves a struggle for existence, and this struggle again necessitates, as previously explained, a subsequent embodiment. The efforts (*karman*) to maintain the struggle for existence may be either good or bad ; they partake of the character either of merit (*punya*) or demerit (*pāpa*). Accordingly after death, a soul is re-born either in a superior or in an inferior re-embodiment, either as a happy "god" in heaven, or as a sufferer of torment in hell. Birth as a man also belongs to the superior class, while embodiment in a beast or plant or inorganic object belongs to the inferior births. The exact place in the ascending or descending series of births depends on the amount of merit or demerit of the efforts (*karman*) of any individual soul in any of its particular lives. Thus arises a cycle of misery-full embodiments, and from this vicious circle nothing but a supreme effort of inward reversal can deliver.

It is this inward reversal to which the third term Right conduct refers. It relates to the ways and means of attaining that radical change. It aims at stopping the *karman*, or efforts after existence, and thus at breaking through that vicious circle ; for when the cause is removed, the effect, i.e. the recurrent metempsychosis, ceases of itself. This is attained by regulating the conduct of men ; and the rules of conduct are summed up in five great vows. These are : (1) not to ill-use any soul, (2) not to speak any untruth, (3) not to appropriate anything without permission, (4) to exercise sexual continence, and (5) to practise unworldliness and poverty. These vows involve very much more than appears on the surface. Thus, seeing that Jainism sees a soul in everything, organic or inorganic, the keeping of the first vow requires a most minutely careful life, *samvara*. This explains why a Jain monk carries a broom, to sweep his path or his seat, and screens his mouth to avoid inhaling any "soul." Moreover, the formula of the vows expressly demands that they must be kept not only in act, but also in word and in thought ; and it further says that one breaks them not only by doing the evil one's self, but by causing others to do it, or even by merely conniving at its being done by others. Besides these negative vows, Right conduct includes positive rules enjoining ascetic self-discipline, such as penitence and confession, humility and obedience, religious study and contemplation, and especially various kinds of self-mortification, *tapas*, culminating in religious suicide by starvation.* The *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, the second of the Jain *Angas*, says : "Master of his senses and

* Cases of such religious suicide still occur in the present day, especially among the Digambara section of Jains.

avoiding wrong, the monk should do no harm to any body, neither by thoughts, nor words, nor acts. He should cease to injure living beings, whether they move or not, on high, below, and on earth. This is called the *Nirvāṇa* which consists in Peace." *

Those who strictly and faithfully observe the rules of Right conduct attain *Nirvāṇa*, and thereby liberation from any further re-birth. When they die, their unembodied souls go to the place of the Siddha, or the Perfected ones. This place is said to resemble in form an immense umbrella, raised and spread over the top of the world ; and in it the perfected souls remain for ever.

It is only the monks among the members of the Jain Order who can reach this state of perfection, namely those who entirely forsake the world, and unreservedly submit to the stringent requirements of Right conduct. Obviously it is impossible to exact from women the same stringent conditions as from men, notably with regard to nudity ; hence nuns cannot reach *Nirvāṇa*. Others (men or women) who admit the truth of the Jain doctrine, but cannot prevail on themselves to go the whole length of the sacrifice required by it, are permitted to join the Order in the inferior capacity of "lay-adherents." For them the rules of Right conduct are relaxed, but they do not reach *Nirvāṇa* in this life, nor Perfection after death. They are still revolving in the cycle of re-births, but at least they are on the right road and may succeed in being re-born under such conditions as will enable them to become a monk. Jain lay-people are not subject to the positive rules of ascetic self-discipline, to their full extent, and even the vows are imposed on them in a distinctly relaxed form. Thus, instead of the vow of continency, they have only to take a vow of monogamy ; and they are under no obligation to interfere with the evil that may be done by others ; it is sufficient for them not to do evil themselves or to cause others to do it. For further particulars I may refer those whom this subject may interest, to my Translation of the *Upāsakadaṣṭā* and Professor Jacobi's Translation of the *Āchārāṅga* (see *ante*, footnote on p. 315), in which the duties of the "lay" and the "religious" Jains respectively are expounded. I may note, however, in this connection, that in our days, owing to the exigencies of modern civilisation, the stringent rules of the ancient times have been much relaxed, even with regard to the conduct and practices of the professed monks. This is notably the case with respect to the rule of absolute nudity. Even among the *Digambaras*, who originally separated from the *Svetāmbaras* on this point, the rule is in abeyance. The ordinary *Digambara* monks,

* See Prof. Jacobi's Translation, p. 311, in Volume XLV of the Sacred Books of the East.

called Pandits, wear the usual dress of the country, while their chiefs, who are called Bhaṭṭārakas, wrap themselves in a large piece of cloth (*chadar*), which they lay aside only while they are at their meals in absolute retirement. This title of Bhaṭṭāraka appears to have originated in 1318 A. D., when it was conferred by a wealthy layman in Gujarāt on a certain Āchārya who had done him an important service. This incident, by the way, illustrates the influential position of the lay-element within the Jain order.

Speaking of Jain titles, I may add that, at the present day, among the Svetāmbaras an ordinary monk is called a Yati, or Jati, *i. e.*, an Ascetic, while their chiefs are called Āchārya, or 'teacher,' and the head of a whole Gachchha, or section, is called a Sūrī. At the present day, the Svetāmbaras are divided into several sections, the two best known among which are the Tapa Gachchha and the Kharatara Gachchha. Another section is the Upakeṣa Gachchha, whose lay-adherents are well-known under the name of Oswāls. The Digambaras are similarly divided, their chief section being the Sarasvatī Gachchha.*

I have already referred to the important position of the lay-element in the organisation of the Jain Order, of which the lay-adherents form an integral part. There is probably no circumstance which brings out this point more strikingly than the practice that the Āchāryas, or chiefs of the Order, are elected by the suffrages of both the monks and the laymen. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the existence of the lay-element within the Order has had a most marked influence on the development of the practices of the Jains. The most striking effect of it is the introduction of a religious cult into their essentially atheistic system. The building of temples with its statues of the Tīrthānkaras, the worship of the founder of the Order and of his predecessors, the keeping of festivals, processions and pilgrimages, and other religious ceremonies, which could have no interest for the world-renounced monk, are all excrescences on the pure Jain system, due to the admission of the lay-element. It also affected the constitution of the monkish portion of the Order. For the monk, who, according to the original intention of the system, should have been a poor wandering mendicant ascetic, became, in the course of time, owing to his duties of teaching and directing the settled and sedentary lay-element, a sedentary person himself, and this led to the establishment of a sort of monasteries, the Upa-ṣrayas, or Retreats, with all the civilising changes which necessarily accompany a settled life in a monastery, but which are incompatible with extreme asceticism.

* See my papers on the *Indian Antiquary*, Vols. XIX and XX.
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While thus the period which I am reviewing in this paper has been one of fundamental importance for our knowledge of the history of Jainism and its founder, it has not been altogether unfruitful with respect to the great rival organisation of Buddhism. The history, indeed, of that Order and of its founder has long been well known ; yet, curiously enough, until quite recently, none of the localities connected with the most important events in Buddha's personal history, such as his birth and death, had been identified. There was certainly one good reason for this curious circumstance ; for, as it now turns out, those localities are outside our borders, within the territory of Nepal, and therefore have been precluded from the search operations of our Archæological Surveys.

With the discoveries in this respect, the name of Dr. L. A. Waddell, the learned author of *Buddhism in Tibet*, is prominently connected. The zeal with which he has devoted a portion of his holiday and the opportunities afforded by official tours to the search for long-lost Buddhist localities cannot be too highly praised. In 1891 he succeeded, on one of his tours, in discovering, near the village of Uren, in the district of Mungir, the site of the celebrated Hermitage of Buddha, where that saint is reported by Hiuen Tsiang to have rested for a season during the rains. The full details of this identification have been published by Dr. Waddell in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.* Subsequent researches enabled him to discover in the neighbourhood of Patna City what appears to be conclusive evidence of the exact position of the great emperor Açoka's famous capital of Pāṭaliputra.† The evidence, thus furnished in 1892, is at present being followed up, so far as financial considerations permit, by the Government of Bengal.

The most important discovery, however, to which his studies of old Buddhist history have led is that of Buddha's birth-place, in the neighbourhood of a small village called Niglivā. This is situated, just beyond the British frontiers, within the Nepalese Terai, about 20 miles north of the Chilliā Police Station, in the Basti District. Rumours of the existence near that place of one or more inscribed pillars had been current for many years. Mr. V. A. Smith had heard of one "a dozen years ago." But they took more definite shape in the spring of 1893, when a Nepalese Officer, Major Jashkaran Singh, of Balrāmpur, saw and reported an Açoka pillar in the Terai. Through the information thus furnished Dr. Führer was enabled, in March 1895, to visit the spot, and to find there, on the banks of the Nigāl

* See Volume LXI, for 1892.

† Published in his pamphlet on the *Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classical Capital of Pataliputra* ; 1892.

Sāgar, a pillar, with an edict of king Aṣoka inscribed on it. This edict, when deciphered in April 1895 by Hofrath Prof. Bühler,* proved that the ruins of a stūpa close by were those of the funeral monument of the mythical Buddha Konākamana. Dr. Führer also noticed in the neighbourhood "vast ruins," which clearly pointed to the existence there of a large inhabited place in ancient days. A report of these discoveries was published by him in July 1895. As soon as Dr. Waddell, who had for some time made Fa Hian's and Hinen Tsiang's account of Buddha's birthplace† a special study, read the newly-found edict, he at once saw the clue which it supplied towards fixing the site of that place in the neighbourhood of the Konākamana stūpa and its pillar. He published his discovery in June 1896‡, pointing out that, in accordance with the indication given by Hiuen Tsiang, Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Buddha, must be within a few miles distance of Niglīvā. Thereupon the Government of India was moved, both by Dr. Waddell and Dr. Führer, to obtain the permission of the Nepalese Darbar to explore the site thus indicated, in order to verify its being that of Kapilavastu. That permission having been secured, and Dr. Waddell's services not being available, Dr. Führer was deputed to carry out the desired verification. In November, 1896, he proceeded to Niglīvā, and finding that the Nepalese Government were not prepared to undertake excavations, he went on, south-eastward, to Bhagwānpur, where he had been told, in the previous year, of the existence of another inscribed pillar. He there found the looked-for pillar on the 1st December 1896, and upon it an inscription which identified the spot upon which it stood as the celebrated Garden of Lumbinī, in which Buddha is said to have been born. Starting from this spot as a fixed point, Dr. Führer next discovered the ruins of Kapilavastu, at a distance of twelve miles north-west of it, and five miles west of Niglīvā. This places Kapilavastu practically at the point indicated for it by Dr. Waddell.§ It still remains to explore the site of that celebrated town, and to excavate its more prominent ruins. This is a task which, as I learn from Dr. Führer, is at present in progress under his superintendence.

The two pillar inscriptions above referred to are of considerable interest, not only on account of the discoveries to which they have led, but also as specimens of imperial records of Aṣoka's time. I may, therefore, quote them here. The

* See the *Academy*, for 27th April 1895.

† See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. XLIX, and Vol. II p. 19.

‡ In the *Englishman* of the 1st June 1896.

§ For further particulars see Dr. Führer's *Annual Progress Reports* for 1893-97; also *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1897, pp. 429, 615, 644.

Konākamaṇa pillar inscription unfortunately is mutilated. What remains of it runs as follows :—

“When the god-beloved king Piyadasi had been anointed fourteen years, he increased the stūpa of Buddha Konākamaṇa for the second time ; and when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he himself came and worshipped it ; and he caused it to obtain. . . .”

The Lumbinī pillar inscription runs thus :

“When the god-beloved king Piyadasi had been anointed twenty years, he himself came and worshipped ; and (as he heard say that) ‘here Buddha the Sakya saint was born,’ he caused a stone horse-capital to be constructed, and a stone pillar to be erected ; and (as he heard say that) ‘here the Blessed-one was born,’ he exempted the village of Lumbinī from all taxes, and bestowed wealth on it.”

The latter record curiously confirms a tradition related in the *Divyāvadāna*, that king Aṣoka expressed a wish to visit, honour and mark by a sign, for the benefit of remote posterity, all the spots where the blessed Buddha had dwelled. In this wish he was confirmed by Upagupta, the fourth in the patriarchal succession after Buddha. That patriarch accompanied the king on his pilgrimage and pointed out to him the various sacred spots, using the very words quoted in the pillar record. That record shows that the pilgrimage was undertaken by Aṣoka in the twenty-first year of his reign (about 240 B C.). There is a line of Aṣoka edict pillars, running north-westwards from Patna, through Northern Behar, into the Nepalese Terai. It is probable that these pillars mark the route of king Aṣoka’s pilgrimage as well as of Buddha’s last journey to Kusinagara, where he died. Some of this line of pillars which must lie within the Nepalese Terai, have still to be discovered. Another noteworthy point is that the Konākamaṇa record shows that the stūpa in that saint’s honour had been erected long before Aṣoka’s time ; for the restoration, or enlargement, made by Aṣoka was already the second which the stūpa underwent. This opens out the possibility that a thorough excavation of the Konākamaṇa stūpa may bring to light, from the relic chamber in its interior, written records going back to the fourth or fifth century B. C. This shows how very important it is that a strenuous effort should be made to discover and explore all the ancient Buddhist sites lying within the Nepalese Terai. Such an exploration is certain to be successful and fruitful of results, provided the Government of Nepal can be induced to grant permission to our exploring parties to thoroughly search the Terai on their side of the frontier. For, with the discovery of Kapilavastu, it will now be not difficult

also to identify definitely Kusinagara, the place where Buddha died. It is probable that it will be found to the eastward, either just within, or just without, the frontier-line dividing British and Nepalese territory. To discover this celebrated spot must be the next object of archæological research.

ART. VII.—THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

(*Independent Section.*)

IN the face of the late rejoicings it is a sad admission to have to make, that the widest area in her Majesty's Empire, and the greatest number of her subjects, have, during the past year, been involved in all the calamities that can agitate and oppress nations. Famine, earthquake, pestilence, disaffection and war have, simultaneously or successively, afflicted the people of India, while the rulers, unable to provide funds for the encounter of this sea of troubles, have been so taken aback, that they have refused to adopt any remedial measures for the diseased state of their finances. The idea naturally suggested by which state of things is to ask, why an enquiry should not be held into the management of that large minority of Indian Provinces in which the administration is not in the hands of the "Competition-Wallas." For it is a notable fact that, amid all the annexations that have turned Earls into Marquesses and Rajas into Chief Commissioners, there has been a remnant of such Provinces left in which Asiatic administration still obtains, and which appear to continue comparatively free from the plagues by which British India is afflicted. The total area of such States is about equal to the conjoint areas of France and Germany with the British Islands, and shows a ratio of population averaging 111 per square mile. Roughly stated, the "British" part of India comprises two-thirds of the country, the other third being still in Native hands, though under the general control and protection of the Queen-Empress.

The continued existence of such States is alike useful and interesting—useful as affording an opening for Asiatic ability and ambition ; interesting as helping to show what Asiatic ideas of good government are when subjected to general principles of political ethics and restrained from mutual warfare. Such men as Salar Jung, Dinkar Rao, and Madhava Rao would, under the British rule, have, perhaps, been tax collectors or judges of small-cause-courts; in Native India they became distinguished ministers. If ever an impartial enquiry were made, such as used to take place every twenty years when the Company sought renewal of charter, it might, perhaps, be found that the modern system of British Indian administration was not the best suited to native habits ; and that the idea of the Dutch in Java was nearer the mark, *viz.*, indigenous government in details, subject to imperial direction and control in regard to broad general principles.

One interesting sample of a large and historic region in which the experiment has been tried is Mysore. This was a State founded many ages ago by a scion of the ancient Hindu dynasty of Bijainugger, whose dynasty was temporarily ousted by the famous Moslem adventurer Hyder Ali in the eighteenth century. On the death of Hyder the power devolved on his son, the notorious Tippoo Sultan ; and, when Tippoo died in the gateway of his palace at Seringapatam in 1799, the representative of the old dynasty was put into the place of his ancestors. For the next ten years, during the minority of the young Raja, the State was governed by a Brahmin often mentioned in the papers of Arthur Wellesley, by the name of Purneea ; and the result was favourable in every respect, finance included. Unhappily, no due care had been taken for the young Raja's training, and from the day of his assuming full power all began to go to ruin ; until in 1831, Lord William Bentinck, the most unannexing of Governor-Generals, felt constrained to interfere. The Mysore State was sequestered and remained under British management for fifty years. The Court of Directors issued orders that the administration should continue on native lines ; but the sons of Zeruah were too strong for them, and a number of British officers and British regulations were, from time to time, introduced. It must be added that the Chiefs appointed by the Government were well-chosen and generally allowed a pretty free hand ; until in 1881 the Raja of the day was allowed to take over charge of the State, the other changes had not been considerable ; and the Maharaja, as he is entitled, acts under the general supervision of the Government of India, to which reference must be still made in certain specified emergencies. It would be a matter of more than mere curiosity to learn exactly how the system works ; not judging by European standards, *which are wholly inapplicable*, but gauged by the sole tests of financial equilibrium and general welfare.

Judging *à priori*, one cannot but surmise that the chances will be favourable to such a State. Not only is the direct British administration handicapped by the incompatible ideas of Asiatic and European, but it is open to the objections adduced seventy years ago against the much more mitigated action of Wellesley's "Subsidiary system." Among those objections Sir Thomas Munro urged, in particular, its inevitable tendency to bring every Native State under the exclusive dominion of an alien Government, whereby safety from the dangers attending oriental rule was dearly purchased at the expense of "independence of national character and of what ever renders a people respectable."

It will be seen that there were officers in those days who

were not afraid to think for themselves and to express their conclusions with equal vigour and openness. Even apart from these, which will, perhaps, be called sentimental considerations, a little reflection will show that the same system is hardly likely to have equally good effect on peoples in such different stages of evolution as Asiatics and Europeans. Consider..... India a vast Peninsula—almost as large as a Continent—inhabited by a full score of nations, differing in creed and language, but all in a similar stage of social development, about that of Mesopotamia in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Is that a fit soil for the reception of ideas transplanted from our complicated Europe? Our own insular life, in particular, the most distinct of all, influenced by Teutonic “common law” and by Latin Christianity, French feudalism, Magna Charta, Puritanism, the political changes of the seventeenth century, ages of war, civil and foreign, ending in unparalleled wealth, science, and activity.....is that a state of things to attract “the brooding East?”

Further yet : the aggregate of these populations is about equal to that of the European nations on this side of the Vistula, while the financial resources at the disposal of their British rulers are comparatively small and have reached something like their utmost limits. Consequently, the administrative refinements that may seem indispensable from our stand-point are either impossible there or have to be attempted in an inexpensive and inadequate manner. Now, it hardly admits of question that to run a scientific system “on the cheap” is hardly the way to minimise the evils of its exotic origin. The people with whom we have to deal are not savages ; and even savages become ultimately *blasés* of glass jewels and shoddy long-cloth.

The answer that would, perhaps, be given to a strong demand for enquiry into matters of this kind might be that the comparative success of Asiatic and British administration had been reported on in a Blue Book of thirty years ago ; and, certainly, during the incumbency of John Lawrence, there was such an enquiry, though few but Lord Salisbury may now remember the circumstances. It arose out of the restoration of the Hindu dynasty in Mysore mentioned above, and took the form of demi-official returns from a number of selected British officials to the somewhat leading question, whether the people in British India were not happier than their congeners in Native States? Here, it must be admitted, was an inquest of which the conclusion was predetermined ; seeing that the officials, however honest they might be (and, doubtless, were) would naturally be under a bias in favour of their own work and its results. Besides, thirty years—a whole generation—must have seen many changes ; Native States have had great opportuni-

ties of improvement in that interval ; British administration also has undergone changes, which may not have been for the better in all respects.

It is a common place of political history that the contact of energetic foreigners is productive of injury to backward populations. How much more must this be the case when the intruders are restless reformers always analysing and altering their own institutions. It is not only religious propaganda that we have to repress ; that danger died out a quarter-of-a century or more ago. But, during the same interval, the diverging trend of West and East has much increased, and it affects matters of almost equal urgency. It has apparently become an accepted rule that what is good for England is good for Ireland, and what is good for the British Islands is equally good for a remote eastern dependency.

Now, of course, the old theory that Providence would not have called the British to India without some great purpose is not one to be entirely ignored. We are not, perhaps, quite as cocksure about the designs of Providence as we were in the days of Dalhousie ; nevertheless, we can all see that war and revolting practices are positive evils whose extinction even Asiatics admit to be beneficial, and to reflect glory on our sway :—

“ These are imperial arts and worthy thee.”

When Bentinck proposed to make widow-burning murder, he was supported by the native conscience and opposed by only a few Anglo-Indian cranks. A like readiness in public opinion is found in all such cases ; hesitation is only indicated when we come to ideals of administrative detail where conscience need not be squeamish so long as peace and order are maintained. It might be consoling to the feelings of Parliament, and the constituencies that every town in British India should possess a daily newspaper and a dissenting chapel, a system of main drainage and a board-school. But if these blessings are not to be had without an expenditure for which reasonable provision cannot be made ; why, we must do without them.

It was observed above that the limits of fiscal resource appear to have been reached in India. One judges in this matter from a considerable experience of the past, as well as from actual events and the admissions of the experts. We have had an income-tax in India almost ever since the Mutiny ; we have raised the salt-dues which form the poll-tax of the *capite-censi* ; their poor savings have been turned into tinsel by the closing of the mints, and their standard of living is reduced to something like a bare minimum (see *Decennial Report* of 1894, pp. 431 f. f.). In large towns, and especially

where manufacturing industries have been established, wages have risen, while the people are acquiring secondary wants, but it will probably be found that municipal rating participates in the increase. In any case eighty per cent. of the general population is still dependent on the land; and the landed classes are reported to be almost universally in debt and in a precarious condition. On the whole, we cannot assume any actual buoyancy or elasticity in India's fiscal assets.

It would be unfair to found final conclusions on the years of disaster that have befallen since the publication of the last decennial report; but there can be no impropriety in the suggestion that no improvement in these respects is to be looked for during a period marked by such a combination of calamities as India has lately suffered. This, then, is the dilemma that presents itself: by putting down war and abnormal distress you leave a community to work out its own salvation; at the same time that you step in with fresh bonds, forged in a foreign and far distant land. India's revenue will not provide for the administration you say she ought to have (to say nothing of "a forward policy" and the attendant hæmorrhage). If you are to ask the British tax-payer for help, he will want to know more, and to interfere, until India finds herself in the predicament of *Æsop's horse*.

The conclusion seems to be that the general policy must be cheapened, not by tinker economies which only end in impaired efficiency, but in a different ideal of public existence. In our own lives, if we find our income quite unequal to our scale of living, we do not attempt mere palliatives, such as burning cheaper coal and reducing the number of our servants; we let our houses to American millionaires and take ourselves off to Devonshire or to Belgium, and live in lodgings. And so in the problem presented here; whether or no a highly-organised administration, if feasible in India, would be suited to the country, is one question; but before it can be profitably considered, we have to face the fact that, if it cannot be done properly it will be better not to do it at all. It is idle to attempt the introduction of occidental administration when you have only an Oriental income; hardly sufficing for bare necessities, how can it provide what are the luxuries of Government?

If, therefore, an earnest desire exists anywhere for the welfare of the Indian races, one of the first essentials for the satisfaction of such a desire is to ascertain what is the amount of administration that suffices to the people of a Native State, where there is little or no taxation, and the ruler has to provide for everything out of the revenue derived from the surplus produce of the soil: Let us determine by impartial inquest, what may be the ideal of ruler's duties and subjects needs in those provinces not run on European lines.

In an interesting little work, lately published in Paris, Count Goblet d'Alviella has brought together the fragmentary evidence of a former exotic rule in India afforded by the monuments of Macedonian settlements in the Punjab about a century before the Christian era.* He comes to the conclusion that the natives were but little affected at the time by the foreign ideas and practices, all trace of which disappeared in a few generations, excepting marks left on literature and thought; and he goes on to suggest that, if the British rule in India were to be abolished, the memorials left there would be scarcely more durable or important. Were we to challenge this prediction, it would be only by pointing to the Native States which we have been here offering for examination. In Home Rule, softened and vivified by western morality, we might find our criterion; and it would be one that could not fail to help us to see what part of western civilization suited the East, and what the East was unable to assimilate. We should probably find the primitive budget above suggested; conservancy old-fashioned and simple; public instruction optional and backward; law irregular, but neither slow nor costly. But in all these respects we should certainly note an advance upon the anarchic methods of the Nawabs and Rajas of the eighteenth century which could not be due to anything but British influence. Nevertheless it would be working in native ways and according to native wants. The wearer of the shoe is always the best judge of its fit.

On the other hand, it scarcely needs much investigation to show us that our schemes of exotic administration have not been a complete success. We do not keep the peace—either within or on the border; the death-rate—apart from abnormal causes—does not diminish; the yearly budget is always in deficit and the public debt always on the rise. Four millions sterling raised in London, and an attempt to float a rupee-loan in India are the visible expedients; while the mints remain closed, and the silver ornaments which are the people's savings are turned to dross in their owner's hands. The details of finance are matter for experts; here we need only point to the depreciation of 3 per cent. paper as showing the decreasing credit of the Indian Government. And the evidence lately recorded by the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure has shown how very defective are the checks upon outlay.

Nor is it only in the direction of Ways and Means that the difficulties appear to be increasing. Deep as must be the sympathy felt for Lord Elgin and his subordinates in the noble efforts that they have been making to combat the manifold miseries of the time, we may do well to remember that

* *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce.* Paris, 1897.

misery has always been the normal condition of many of the inhabitants of India ; and that, though the ratio of distress to the whole population may not be larger than—or even so large as—it once was ; yet, that population having doubled in the last sixty years, the actual number of persons in distress is probably as large as ever : while the latest recorded death-rate—before plague, pestilence and famine had begun their ravages—was double the figure prevailing annually in London. If the numbers of the population were not so large, and if the standard of living were higher, a better revenue would probably be possible, enabling the Government to provide a more complete administration. But we have to deal with things as they are. Half the revenue is secure and definite, being derived from the surplus yield of agriculture. The rest comes from the luxuries of the few rich, the assessed taxes, stamps, and court-fees, the salt consumed by high and low, and the precarious profit on opium, paid chiefly by the Chinese and constantly tending to disappear. The total amounts to a little more than half of what is obtained, without the slightest difficulty in the British Islands from a people about one-sixth of that of India. Occidental administration and Oriental revenue, that is the problem. If it should be insoluble, what is to be tried next ?

ART. VIII.—LIFE AND WRITINGS OF GULBADAN BEGAM (LADY ROSEBODY).

NATURE usually compensates the annalists to whose writings is denied the dignity of history, by bestowing on them, as qualities of their defects, the gift of being entertaining and the habit of preserving for a grateful posterity details which History passes with averted eye. Witness, amongst Persian gossips, Jauhar giving daily life to the historic Humáyún, and Badáoní, who, when he is not reproducing Nizámu-d-dín, is padding that dignified writer's historic outline with matters personal, unreserved, and for the most part genuinely welcome. In so far as these two are recorders of minor human affairs, they have a comrade in the high-born lady, Gulbadan Begam (Lady Rosebody), whose life partially overlapped theirs and who was a daughter of the Emperor Bábar and an aunt of the Emperor Akbar.

That Gulbadan Begam was an author does not seem generally known to English students of the Mughul period in Hindústán. It has certainly been overlooked that she wrote anything so well-worth reading as is her *Humáyún-náma*. The fact of her authorship has escaped even from the serried ranks of Professor Blochmann's biographical statements. Mr. Erskine had not seen her book, or his account of the families of Bábar and Humáyún would have been fuller and more exact. Many of her anecdotes are, I believe, hers only; they have not been quoted, and no use has been made of the light she throws on some hazy points of kinship and intermarriage.*

To a few students of Persian MSS. Gulbadan Begam's book cannot but be known, for it is catalogued and described by Dr. Rieu; but, this notwithstanding, there is, I believe, little risk in claiming for the Calcutta Review that, in some notes by Mr. Beveridge which have already appeared, † and in this article, it introduces both book and author to its public.

Here and there, in what may, with sufficient accuracy, be called *Akbarnáma*, there is mention of Gulbadan Begam. She joins her father in Hindústán; she goes on pilgrimage and

* I hope to publish a complete translation of Gulbadan Begam's *Humáyún-náma* in a few months. It became known to me through Mr. Beveridge, who read it in the British Museum and wished me to attempt its translation. It is difficult to define the help which has been given to the translation, and consequently to this article, by what I may borrow a phrase to describe as the "chips" from the workshop in which Mr. Beveridge is translating the *Akbarnáma*. The chips are uncounted and are given to me, the freest of gifts.

† July 1897. Article Bábar Padsháh Ghází.

returns; she intercedes with Akbar for Salīm, and she dies honoured and lamented. But there is no word of her book. It was, she tells us, written in obedience to an order of the Emperor (Akbar) which she thus epitomises: "Put down in writing what you may have known of Firdaus Makání (Bábar) and Jannat Ashyání (Humáyún)." This is probably the order mentioned by Abú-l-fazl as issued in about 1587 (995H.) with the intention of gathering in material for the *Akbarnāma*. To it we owe the annals of Jauhar and Báyzíd. Abú-l-fazl does not speak of the Begam's compliance with it; possibly he knew nothing of her book*; possibly he read and despised it. There are, however, some anecdotes in it which the *Akbarnāma* does not include, and which would so well have lent themselves to its author's magniloquent misadornment, that one inclines to suppose he never saw the work at all. This is, however, merest conjecture; and all that is left to us is the fact that the little book, a literary *parda-nishin*, seems to have been shrouded in silence from the public, perhaps even till now.

The MSS. on which this article is based is one of the Hamilton Collection in the British Museum. It was purchased in 1868 from the widow of Colonel George William Hamilton and is classed by Dr. Rieu amongst the most remarkable of the 352 MSS. which were selected for purchase out of upwards of 1,000 gathered together by Col. Hamilton. These were obtained in Dihli and Lucknow: "Some bear the vermilion stamp of the king of Oude," but Gulbadan's is not of these. It is an unpretentious little volume, bound in red leather and unadorned by the penman's art in frontispiece or margin. It is much perforated by such insects as lay traps of simulated dots for the unwary reader. Availing ourselves of Dr. Rieu's details; it measures nine inches by five and a half; contains 83 folios (N. B. it is defective), each of which holds fifteen lines of three inches in length. It is written in Nasta'líq and apparently dates from the 17th century.†

It does not seem altogether improbable that the handwriting is the author's own. If this were so, it would, perhaps, not necessarily affect Dr. Rieu's estimate of the date of the character, as the book could hardly have been written, *i.e.* composed, before 1587 (995H.). That Gulbadan Begam was a penwoman, we know from her own words, and doubtless many other ladies of her day could write, for the *diún*, the teacher of

* Since I wrote this, Mr Beveridge has pointed out two passages to me which tend to show that Abú-l-fazl used the Begam's book without acknowledgment. There is a passage in the *Akbarnāma* (I. 87) about Bábar which closely resembles Gulbadan's on the same topic. A divergence from Bábar's own narrative which Mr. Erskine notices (*Memoirs*, trs. 188n.) as made by Abú-l-fazl, is also found in Gulbadan's narrative.

† Cat. of Per. MSS. B. Museum. C. Rieu. Ph. D, iii. xxi.

reading, writing and embroidery, was a domestic personality named several times both by Bábar and Gulbadan. The impression conveyed by Gulbadan's narrative is of such unstudied and unrevised composition that it could hardly, it seems to a reader, have been dictated even to an *dtún*, a woman; and many of its little stories would have shrivelled up in the utterance, if they must have been spoken to a *munshi*, or any man whose greater attainments would have let Lady Rosebody feel the discomfort of criticism on her outflowing words. This speculation on a comparatively trivial matter would be disproved, in all probability, if another copy of the MS. were available for collation. Up to the time of writing this article, I have been unable to hear of a second. There may well be others in private collections in India, and if so, news of their existence would be most gratefully received by me. It would be the more welcome as it might afford real help in my translation, because the B. M. MS. is defective; it has lost some folios in the body of the MS. and also following F. 83, which ends with an "otherwise" of piquant significance.

Turning now to the contents of the book :—Its earlier part is a reproduction of portions of Bábar's own Memoirs. When her father died, Gulbadan was too young to speak at first hand of his military exploits; but she supplements her extracts from his Memoirs with anecdotes and details of his home life in the years of her childhood. Of special service are her list of his wives and children and some precise statements of relationship and intermarriage. Her account of Humáyún's reign begins on the 19th folio, and the B. M. MS. ends soon after the blinding of Kámrán, and before Humáyún's expedition which resulted in the reconquest of India. The work contains much historical matter; but its value lies in the salt and savour of its personal reminiscences.

The most interesting parts of Lady Rosebody's *Humáyún-náma* will be best exhibited by sketching her life. For the earlier years of this she is her own biographer. She was a daughter of the Emperor Bábar and "Her Highness, Dildár Begam." Some circumstances recorded by her, point to relationship between Dildár and the mother of Humáyún, "Akám, who was Máham Begam." If the two were kinswomen, Dildár must have belonged either to a family whose blood was blue with two infusions from the veins of Tímúr, or to one which claimed back to the great saint, Shaikh Ahmad Jám; for Máham Begam was connected with Abú-l-ghází Sultán Husain Mírzá,—who was doubly descended from Tímúr and who ruled Khurásán during Bábar's early manhood,—and she was also of the family of the saint on whom, through Hamída Bánu Begam, was thrown back the strong light of Akbar. Both

king and saint had bewilderingly large families ; and I have not yet been able to fit Máham Begam more exactly into the line of either.

Most of Bábar's children were born in Kábul, a circumstance which endeared the city to him and was not without temporary influence on its fortunes. Amongst these children was Lady Rosebody. We can only make a rough estimate of the year of her birth. She was, she says, eight years old at the time of her father's death (Dec. 26th, 1530 ; Jumáda I. 5th, 937.). These being lunar years, it may be that she was born in the first half of 1523 (930). She was the fourth of her mother's five children : Gulrang, Gulchihra, Abú-n-nasr Muhammad Hindál, Gulbadan, and Alwar, a boy who predeceased his father.

All Dildár's daughters were named from the rose ; Rosehue, Roseface, Rosebody. What fancy was behind these successive acts of homage ? Are they an echo of Sufism ? or memories of attar-yielding gardens known in a childhood spent in Khurásán ? Had Sa'dí any share in the fealty ? Or was it merely that the mother searched for an omen of charm for the girls and found it in the blush, the beauty and the hidden heart of the rose ? Many Persian names of women are so full of intention that to translate them is to disclose the thought of the givers. There are many others of the class of Dildár's bunch of roses, and there are many which express more subtle charm. Dildár herself was " Heart-holding ; " and Gulbadan often gives her another name, Ajam, which is, perhaps, a term of endearment and may allowably be rendered "*Ma Desirée*." Khán-záda Begam, the favourite sister of Bábar, is styled Aka Jánam, " My Life's Lady," by her niece ; and Máham Begam, Humáyún's mother, is almost always Akám on the lip of her adopted child, Lady Rosebody. Mr. Erskine suggests that this name, Máham, is one of endearment ; but Gulbadan shows us that it was the birth-name. The name Akám may be one given in recognition of Máham's position in Bábar's household, for she was the chief wife, the mother of the heir, and *par excellence*, My Lady. Mr. Erskine suggests that Máham may mean *My Moon*. The name recurs several times in Gulbadan's Memoirs.

Our English emblem is the inspiration of so many women's names in Lady Rosebody's story, that we, some of whose loves are " like the red, red rose," need to remind ourselves now, when our thoughts will be centering on Hindústán with the conquests of Bábar—that he and Dildár and their group were not of races that blush with deeper dusk ; but were fair of the North—naturally not the Scandinavian North, but of the North which neighbours Hindústán and allows a rosy flush in an olive cheek. Faces with this colouring may be seen

amongst Afghán traders in Indian *bázárs*, and sometimes, too, amongst well-born Muhammadans in Bengal, who, after centuries of family location in the Delta, still run back their line to ancestors who "came in" with *Tímúr*.

When little Rosebody was two years old, she was taken into the house of Máham Begam to be brought up. In this she followed her brother Hindál, whom Máham had adopted from birth, some three years earlier. The explanation of these adoptions may lie in the death of Máham Begam's own children. Two of her three sons, Bárbúl and Fárúq, died before their father. Humáyún made up the trio. She had daughters; but I have not yet traced their fate.

It must have been about three years after the child had passed to Máham Begam's care, that an event of great importance to the family occurred, namely the migration to Hindústán. Bábar won the battle of Pánípat in April, 1526 (Rajab 932), and that of Khánwa in March, 1527 (Jumáda 933); and, as these victories somewhat secured his position in Hindústán, he sent for his wives and children from Kábul. These were not the first members of his family to follow him into his new kingdom; for his paternal aunts had arrived, and had taken up their residence in a suburb of Agra, before the Begams left Kábul.

Concerning these aunts, it may be permissible to interject here one of their grand-niece's stories. The ladies were three sisters of Bábar's father, and were always treated by the Emperor with ceremony and kindness. "All through the four years that he (Bábar) was in Agra, he went on Fridays to visit his paternal aunts. One day it was extremely hot, and her Highness Akám said: "The air is very hot; how would it be for once if you did not go? The Begams would not be vexed." The Emperor said to Akám: "Máham! I am astonished at you, that you should say such words! The daughters of Abú Sa'íd Sultán Mírzá" (his grandfather) "who are deprived of father and brother! If I do not cheer them, when will it be done?"

We know exactly when the cavalcade left Kábul; and this intrinsically useless information has carried down to us a good deal more than its own light weight. It is Bábar who records the date of departure, and his few words are eloquent of his affection for his favourite wife and the mother of his favourite son. "It was midnight when I met Máham. I had joined the army on the 10th of the first Jumáda. It is an odd coincidence that she had also left Kábul on the very same day." By the light of a common experience in a journey to make and a meeting to end it, other people, of other race and time, can read in these precise sentences something of the

feelings of the bye-gone Emperor and waiting husband. Happily the modern prototypes of Bábar and Máham would find it difficult to pass as much time as Máham spent in reaching a rendezvous in India. She left Kábul on January 21st, 1529, and she met Bábar in Agra on June 27th. He had returned to the city on the 24th, and his plan was to go out to meet the Begam in Kúl Jaláíl (Alighar). She travelled faster than he expected, and had set out from Kúl and come near to the capital before he had left it. While Bábar was at evening-prayers, some one brought word that he had passed the Begam on the road some eight miles out of Agra. The Emperor did not wait for a horse, but set out on foot, and, falling into Máham's suite, brought her to his own house in the city.

On her journey to Hindústán, little Rosebody had experiences all her own and a reception unalloyed by numbers, for she travelled with Máham and in advance of her sisters. The "insignificant one" seems to have appreciated her position fully, at any rate at the time of chronicling it, some half a century after the fact.

The child did not accompany Máham Begam into Agra, for it was (naturally at her age, of a little over five) best for her to travel by daylight. She remained one stage behind, perhaps at Kúl Jaláíl. Next morning she started in her litter, and at some place on the road was taken out of it and seated in a "little garden," to receive a very great personage, the Khalífa, Mír Nizámu-d-dín 'Alí. With him was his wife, whom Gulbadan, in opposition to her custom, names, *tout court*, Sultánám. The princess gives an amusingly detailed account of what befell her, after she had been seated on a carpet by her *mámáhaya* (old women-servants), and she treats herself as having bulked quite as a royal personage in her great visitor's eyes. Escort, gifts, reception ceremonial, breakfast, all are described at such length that it is a relief to her reader, when the lady winds herself up with a "finally" and puts herself into the litter for Agra.

She writes affectionately of her meeting with her father. She fell at his feet; he asked many questions and seated her in his arm, so that the "insignificant one" could imagine no greater happiness. Half a year was now spent in the capital; but we cannot picture the child's surroundings in an Agra where no marble palace looked across the Jamná to the Táj. At the end of six months an excursion was made to Dhúlpúr, some 34 miles to the south of Agra, where the Emperor was building a house and laying out a garden according to his own notions of fitness and pleasantness. Those who do not know what he has to say about his impressions of Hindústán and his dis-

approval of many things as they were done in his new kingdom, would find much to interest them on these topics in his Memoirs. From Dhúlpúr, the royal party moved to SÍkrí. Perhaps the Emperor wished to show Máham the heights which had afforded him vantage ground against Ráná Sánká.

In SÍkrí a curious misadventure befell little Gulbadan. The Emperor was in his writing-room, and Máham Begam had gone to prayers. The child was sitting at the door of her father's room in company with Bíbí Macharika, whom she always names Afghání Agháchá, the Yúsufzai wife of Bábar. From some cause, perhaps childish restlessness, the little girl said to her companion, "Pull my arm." Such strength was in the mountain-bred woman's muscles, that, when she obeyed, the arm came out of its socket! Tears and fainting resulted; but the bone-setter came and bound up the injured limb, and—"we went to Agra."

In Agra news was received that the "Begams" were coming. This comprehensive and convenient word here included the celebrated Khánzáda, whose presence must have been most welcome to the Emperor. Her story is well-known; but the heads of it may be recapitulated to give interest to the meeting. She was married to Shaibání Khán in Samarqand (1501-907), in order to obtain a truce for her brother, Bábar, in his extremity. She was divorced, because her husband thought she leaned too much to her brother's side in matters between the two men. She was given by her first husband, although she had borne him a son, to a man of rank inferior to her own. Both husbands perished on the same day in the battle of Merv; and the victor, Sháh Ismá'íl of Persia, subsequently restored Khánzáda to Bábar (1511-917). She lost her son while he was still a young man, a few years after his father, Shaibání's death. Her life was full of recurring chagrins, and she was still far indeed yet from the end of sorrow, seeing that the days of Humáyún's misfortunes were before her. When she now met her brother, there was great rejoicing and giving of thanks.

A story of Lady Rosebody's may be interpolated here, when there is mention of the affection of Bábar and Khánzáda. Its date is 1545(952), and, therefore, some fifteen years after the Emperor's death. Akbar, with a sister, had just made a journey from Qandahar to Kábul in the depth of winter, by Kámrán Mírzá's orders. He was given into the care of Khánzáda Begam. "At that time, Jalálu-d-dín Muhammad Akbar Bád-sháh was two and a half years old. When Aka Jánám received him, she felt a great love for him. She used to kiss his hands and feet, and say: "They are the very hands and feet of my brother, the Emperor Bábar, and he is like him altogether."

If Abú-l-fazl had heard this story, what a storm of epithets would have fallen upon it and crushed it !

Many of Lady Rosebody's incidents which are trivial in themselves, have value because they fill in the picture of her home life. Here is one such, which concerns a visit made, after the arrival of Khánzáda, to the Gold-scattering Garden (*Bágh Zar-afshán*) by Bábar and a party of the Begams. In the Garden they came upon a place for ablution before prayers, a ceremonial observance of which one realises some of the importance when one notes the words applied to it in the Koran, "the half of faith, the key of prayer." The sight of the place touched feelings in the Emperor of the awakening of which his Memoirs have already given us evidence. He was desiring to "compose his soul," and to repent, even to atonement, for his offences against the Law of his Faith. He said : "My heart is borne down by dominion and kingship. I shall retire to this garden. As for service, Táhir, the ewer-bearer, will suffice. I will give the crown to Humáyún." Here, says Gulbadan, "Her Highness Akám and all the Begams began to cry, and broke down, and said : "God keep you on the throne many, many years, and may your children in your steps reach a fine old age." The pious wish of the Begams was fulfilled neither for Bábar nor for his sons. He himself passed away in a few months ; not one son outlived middle-age, and Gulbadan's next entry is of the death of her full brother, Alwar.

It was shortly after Alwar's death that Humáyún contracted the illness which is mentioned in most of the histories because of its relation to what may, in some of its aspects, be called the crowning act of the great Emperor's life—the sacrifice of himself for Humáyún.

The Prince had been spending some months on his estates in Sambhal and had fallen ill. His father ordered that he should be brought to the capital ; but, before he could reach Delhi, his attendants sent word that he was exceedingly ill and that her Highness, the Begam, had better go to him. "Like one athirst who is far from the waters," Máham set out. She met her son in Muttra, and he seemed to her experienced eye far worse than she had been led to expect. The two, "like Jesus and Mary," went on to Agra. Here the illness increased and all hope was abandoned. When Máham saw Bábar's grief, she said : "Do not grieve for my son. You ! a king ! why should you sorrow ? You have other sons ; I suffer, for I have no more." Bábar answered, "Máham ! though I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humáyún."

Máham's words remind us that she had lost two sons ; they

may even be read to mean that all her children were dead. They remind us, too, of other signs of Bábar's affection for Humáyún ; how he and Máham went with their boy to Badakhshán, when he was unwilling to take up its Government because it was so far away, and how, when the prince, just before he went to Sambhal at this time, came without permission from Badakhshán, he found father and mother sitting together and talking of himself.

The full story of Bábar's sacrifice may be read at length in Mr. Erskine's most interesting biography. Gulbadan says few words on the subject ; she speaks as of a topic too well-known to need enlargement. She has, however, preserved for us at least the spirit of the prayer offered by the suppliant father.

"O God ! if a life may be given for a life, I who am Bábar, I give my life and my being for Humáyún."

She then briefly mentions that the Emperor performed the prescribed rite of thrice walking round the dying man's bed, and states that, from the self-same hour, the son grew better and the father failed.

We have no concern here with any explanation, in terms of medical science, of that restoration and this death. Such an explanation would in no way touch the vital fact of the episode, namely that, believing the rite would avail and his sacrifice be accepted by the Almighty, the father surrendered his life for the son. It appears to me that, as a psychical fact, the sacrifice was as real as is that of a man who deliberately risks his life in fire or water for another, and who does, or does not, save that other's life.

Some writers, ignoring Bábar's sincerity, have called his act superstitious. Men know at once too much of its motive and too little of the possibilities of a believing self-surrender, to do more than receive with reverence this record of a father's anguish. His cry is heard wherever the same love has the same need. His act would not stand alone, if his faith in its efficacy were shared.

Gulbadan writes at length of her father's preparation for departure, and amongst these, names the marriage of her sisters, Gulrang and Gulchihra. The death occurred on December 26th, 1530 (Jumáda I. 5th, 937).

Máham Begam did not long survive her husband, and, down to her death, and still for another year, the child remained in her house. The now fatherless girl speaks with gratitude of the sympathy with which Akám and Humáyún met her first grief, and says that she might not have known she was orphan and headless.

Máham Begam was a clever woman, and both as wife and as widow made herself felt in her home. Lady Rosebody lifts

the *parda* and shows us the Empress-mother busied in duties not often thus disclosed to the outside eye. In telling the story, which for the sake of its many special points we quote in full, she has no air of being indiscreet, and is, as may be seen, quite matter-of-fact. She places the anecdote between Humáyún's capture of Chunár (1531=938) and his return from that fort—a position which does not seem to fit the facts. Happily here the usually important details of time and place are immaterial.

"Akám, who was Máham Begam, hoped and longed to see a son of Humáyún's. Wherever there was a good-looking and well disposed girl, she brought her into the Emperor's household. Mewa Ján, who was the daughter of Khazang, the Steward, was in my service. After the death of his Majesty Firdaus Makání, Akám said: 'Humáyún, Mewa Ján is not bad! Why do you not take her into your household?' So, just as she had said, Humáyún married Mewa Ján that very night. Three days later, Bika Begam came from Kábul. She became in the family way. Next year she had a daughter and called her 'Aqíqa. Mewa Ján said to Máham Begam: 'I am in the family way, too.' Then Akám got ready two sets of arms and said: 'Whichever of you has a son, I will give him good arms.' Then she packed up the arms of a Mughul Commander and got ready gold and silver almonds and walnuts, and said: 'Perhaps they will have sons.' She kept watch till Bika's 'Aqíqa was born. Then she kept her eye on Mewa Ján till ten months were gone. Then the eleventh went by also. Mewa Ján said: 'My maternal aunt was the wife of Mírzá Ulugh Beg. She had a son in the twelfth month. Perhaps I am like her.' So they sewed tents and filled pillows. But in the end, everyone knew she was a fraud."

Spite of her pains, Akám was not to see a son of her son. Nine years of such bitter experience were to pass over the family fortunes before the birth of Akbar, that, as Máham could not foresee his greatness, his baby charms which won Khánzáda's heart would hardly have redeemed the misery of Humáyún's degradation. Perhaps if she had lived longer, this would have been less deep; for she might have been able to restrain his use of opium. She died in 1537 (circ.); and it would seem as though Humáyún's abuse of the drug grew upon him only after his mother's death. Certainly it was then that misfortunes pressed round him, and three years only intervened between Máham's death and one of their culminating points at Chausa.

Akám's death "stamped a fresh mark of orphanhood" upon little Rosebody and was again the occasion for great kindness

from Humáyún. "Day after day, I wept and lamented and pined. Majesty came several times to comfort me. I was two years old when Akám took me to live with her, and I was ten when she left this life." The child was not so desolate as her words suggest, for her own mother was living, and she passed to her charge. Dildár seems to have moved about with her son, Hindál, and to have ruled his house, as Máham ruled Humáyún's.

When the forty days of mourning for Máham Begam had been fulfilled, two entertainments were arranged; one to celebrate Hindál's marriage and the other to commemorate the Emperor's accession. Lady Rosebody revels in the upholstery of the feasts, and details gifts, decorations and general lavishness in a manner perplexing to a translator and wearisome to a reader. What is of real value in her Court Chronicle is the enumeration of the guests and her comments upon them. This has enabled me to identify more than one hitherto misty figure, and may serve to give precision to more important historical statements.

Many writers describe Humáyún's fall from the throne of India better than does his half-sister, but her remarks and anecdotes have their peculiar interest. She is quite amusingly indignant with Sher Khán, because he will not draw a line against his own advance to the west, her view clearly being that he ought to leave Humáyún at least something to live on. With a few words she depicts the terror of the Begams, when, day by day, there came news of fighting and always of defeat, till the cry arose "Sher Khán is coming;" and no one knew how soon his victorious troops might appear beneath the walls of Agra, and, later on, even of Lahor.

When speaking of the defeat at Chausa (June 27th, 1539; Safar 6th, 946), our author makes a new contribution to our information about the event, by naming several persons who were lost in the "rout." Most of the histories mention the capture, and subsequent restoration by Sher Sháh, of one of Humáyún's wives whom they style Hájí Begam. From Lady Rosebody we know that her birth-name was Bika and that she was the mother of 'Aqlqa. She obtained her title of Hájí much later than the time at which it appears in the histories, for her pilgrimage was made under Akbar. Mr. Erskine, quoting from the *Nisab-náma-i-Afghánán*, says that Sher Sháh faithfully fulfilled a promise of returning Humáyún's *haram*. Gulbadan's statement does not necessarily throw discredit on Sher Sháh; he probably sent back all who came into his hands alive. There was an attack on the tents of the Begams, to ward off which, while their master was running away, several of his captains lost their lives. This can only have occurred before

it was known that the women were to be spared. Perhaps those who perished were drowned in trying to cross the river in which Humáyún so nearly lost his life; perhaps they were murdered for the sake of their jewels.

"Out of that rout," says Gulbadan, "there came, of several persons, neither word nor sign." Then she names six: (1) Aisha Sultán Begam, a daughter of Sultán Husain Mirzá. (2) Bachaka Khalífa, of the *haram* of Bábar. She was one of the two women who succeeded in escaping with him from Samargand in 1501 (907), at the time when Khánzáda married Shaibání. Both these must have been far from young; and the only reason for their presence with the army that suggests itself is that they were chaperoning some younger kinswomen. (3) Bfka Ján Koka, whom I have not yet identified, and who may have been a child. (4) 'Aqíqa, the daughter of Bfka Begam. That she, a child of about five, should have been lost and her mother saved, indicates something of the general confusion. (5) Chánd Bfbf, an inferior wife of Humáyún, who was seven months with child. (6) Shád Bfbf, also of the Emperor's *haram*. "After much search and inquiry, no single word was ever obtained as to whether all these were drowned, or what became of them."

There are two other references in our *Humáyún-náma* to the loss of 'Aqíqa. The first is made by Humáyún, in speaking to Gulbadan after his flight from Chausa. The two are in the Gold-scattering Garden at Agra, and with them is Kánrán. The meeting of the trio reminds one of the fact that here were three children of one father and of three mothers, and one feels again in one's hand the clue to the miserable family rivalries which disgrace the annals of polygamist kings. At this time, Gulbadan is some thirteen years old, and Humáyún tells her that, at first sight, he did not know her because of change in her *coiffure*, from the *tāq* to the *lachak*, which indicated marriage. "And O! my Gulbadan, I have often thought of you, and I wished very much I had taken you with me; but when the defeat came, I gave thanks and said: 'Praise be to God that I did not bring Gulbadan.' Though 'Aqíqa was a little child, I feel a thousand regrets for her, and I ask myself why I took her with the army."

The second reference is made by Humáyún, when speaking to Hindál after the defeat at Qanauj, and entrusting him with the care of the Begams, who are to be conveyed to Lahor.

Lady Rosebody seems to have been a welcome companion. She was probably a child of lively parts and must have begun life with a good share of vigour, or how otherwise would she have preserved sufficient energy to begin to compose her history when upwards of sixty? Writing then of herself, she

invests her childish personality with the licensed airs of a favourite. An anecdote of a little later than the one just quoted shows us Kamrán asking for her company. He had been ill in Agra and believed that Humáyún, or Humáyún's friends, had administered poison to him. He therefore went to Lahor, and from Lahor wrote to Humáyún, petitioning that Gulbadan might be sent to him. "I am very ill; I am very wretched; I have no one to sympathise with me. If you will send Gulbadan, you will do me a favour and a kindness." Humáyún told Rosebody she must go. Her mother represented that the girl had never travelled alone. This was met by a suggestion, "Then you go, too." Many tears were shed; but the departing was made. The young lady, however, took up a reproachful pen and wrote that she could never have imagined that her brother Humáyún would part with her to Kámrán, and that she could not leave mother and sisters and her father's people and all with whom she had been brought up. The Emperor answered that Kámrán was very importunate; that he himself was engaged in weighty business, and that, when things were settled, he would send for his sister back again.

When Qanauj had been fought, Humáyún was Emperor no longer (May, 1540; 'Maharam, 947). After a time of indecision as to what was best, he entered upon that extraordinary series of adventurous wanderings which Mr. Erskine has so delightfully set forth. Fourteen years passed before he again tried his fortunes in his father's former kingdom. We cannot follow his years of discrownment and must content ourselves with singling out from them the events of supreme historical importance—the marriage of Humáyún and Hamída Bánú, and the subsequent birth of Akbar.

It is well-known that Humáyún met Hamída Bánú in the camp of Hindál and the residence of Dildár. We are not told that Rosebody was with her mother; but perhaps this may be inferred from her use of the expression, "he came," in speaking of Humáyún's visits to Dildár's house. Her story reads like that of an eye-and ear-witness; but this it might have done, had she been absent, for she could have heard all details from her mother later on, and it is certainly probable that she and Hamída Bánú reviewed the whole crisis in the latter's life when the *Humáyún-náma* was being written. For Hamída Bánú and Gulbadan were close friends to the end, and there are several passages in Gulbadan's narrative which are vouched for by the preface: "Hamída Bánú told me." Concerning Hamída Bánú's marriage, Gulbadan has a passage of great interest, which I quote in full. The date of the occurrence is the summer of 1541 (early in 948 H.). To make the story clear, we

must remember that Humáyún and Hamída had a common ancestor, Shaikh Ahmad Jám. At the moment Hindál is suspected by Humáyún of intending to desert him and to strike, for his own hand, a blow against Qandahár.

"On hearing this news (about Hindál's intention), Majesty came to see her Highness, my mother. The *harams* of the Mízá (Hindál) and of the Emperor's people were at the meeting. Referring to Hamída Bánú Begam, Humáyún said: 'Who is this?' They said, 'The daughter of Mír Bába Dost.' Khwája Muazzam (the young brother of Hamída) was standing in front of the Emperor, who said to Hamída Bánú Begam, 'He, too, is a relation of ours.'

"At this time, Hamída Bánú Begam was often in the Mízá's house. Another day, the Emperor came to see her Highness, my mother, Dildár Begam. He said, 'Mír Bába Dost is related to us; it would be fitting that his daughter should marry me.' Mírzá Hindál made objections and said: 'I look on this girl as a sister and a child of my own. Your Majesty is a king. Heaven forbid that there should not be a proper subsistence allowance. That would be very annoying.'"

Hindál, here seems to be making a hit at the fallen fortunes of royalty. Majesty could not but have admitted, at least to himself, that in his wanderings he was often living from hand to mouth and that the manifest apprehensions of Hamída's friends had some justification. No crown! no revenues! whence then the dowry?

"The Emperor got angry and rose and went away. Then my mother wrote a letter and sent it, and said: 'The mother of the girl has already caressed the idea of the marriage. It is astonishing that you should be put out by a few words!' His Majesty, the Emperor wrote and said: 'This story of yours is very welcome. Whatever persuasive means you may use, by my head and my eyes! I will agree to them. As for the allowance, please Heaven! what they have written as their claim will be arranged. My waiting eye is on the road.' Her Highness, my mother, went and fetched his Majesty. That same day she gave a party. After the entertainment, he went to his own quarters. Next day, he came to my mother and said: 'Send some one to call and bring here Hamída Bánú Begam.' When my mother sent, Hamída Bánú did not come. Hamída said: 'If the object is a meeting, I was exalted by a meeting the other day, why should I come again?' Then Majesty sent for Subhán Qulí and said: 'Go to Mízá Hindál and tell him to send the Begam.' Mírzá Hindál said to Subhán Qulí: 'Whatever I may say, she will not come. Go yourself and tell her.' Subhán Qulí went and spoke, and the Begam answered: 'It is lawful to see the

Emperor once ; a second time it is unlawful. I am not coming.' Majesty said : ' If you may not consort with us (*nā mahram*), we shall make you a consort (*mahram*). ' To sum up, there was resistance and dispute on the part of Hamída Bānú Begam for forty days, and she could not be pacified. At last, my mother, Dildār Begam, gave her some advice : ' In the end, whom do you wish to get ? Better than the Emperor who can there be ? ' The Begam said : ' Very true ! I want such a person that my hand may touch his collar, and not one such that I know it does not reach the hem of his garment. ' Then my mother again gave much advice. At last, after forty days, in the first Jumáda, 948, in Pátar, on the second day of the month, at mid-day, his Majesty took the astrolabe into his blessed hand and chose a happy hour and called Mír Abú-l-baqá and ordered him to arrange the marriage. He gave Mír Abú-l-baqá two lakhs of ready money (the dower). After the marriage, they staid three days in that place and then went by boat to Bhakkar."

Did Abú-l-baqá remember now that it was he who had told Bábar of the ancient tradition which taught that the Almighty would listen to a prayer of sacrifice ? He was an " intimate friend of Humáyún's, a man of science and of great weight and influence both by his personal character and as being descended from a holy family. " * The Mír was not to know that, in the child of the marriage he was now forwarding, the spirit of his great dead master would revive ; he was killed in the September of the same year, 1541, when returning from a mission undertaken on behalf of Humáyún. " Humáyún was deeply grieved at his loss and declared that neither the ingratitude of his brothers, nor the treachery of his adherents, nor any of the numerous calamities that had assailed him, had ever unmanned him so much as the loss of this faithful friend. " † The above passage will serve to redeem the character of Humáyún from the unsatisfactory position in which the brevity of this article and its chronicle of his self-prepared misfortunes cannot but place him here.

Humáyún's marriage was most annoying to Hindál, who, amongst other comments on it, observed that he had supposed his brother had come to Pátar for the purpose of visiting him, and not to take a young wife. Irritation strengthened his plan for going northwards, and he moved towards Qandahár, accompanied, no doubt, by the ladies of his household. As may be read in the histories, Kámrán took Qandahár from him and removed him to Kábul, where he was kept in surveillance, in his mother, Dildár's, house. Kábul was taken

* Bábar and Humáyún. Erskine II. 222,

† Bábar and Humáyún. Erskine II. 222.

from Kámrán in November, 1545 (Ramazán 952), by Humáyún, who had then returned from his exile to Persia. The capture of the town gave the opportunity for a most welcome reunion, after what Gulbadan calls a separation of five years, apparently from the summer of 1541 to November 1545. Many members of Bábar's and Humáyún's families now met; and none of them all could have had greater pleasure in the reunion than Hamída Bánú, who now recovered Akbar, whom she had not seen since she had been compelled to desert him at Shal-Mustang (Quetta), in the autumn of 1543.

Kámrán, the irrepressible, was again in Kábul in 1546, having taken advantage of Humáyún's absence on an expedition to Badakhshán. Lady Rosebody has a good deal to say about his treatment of the ladies of his brother's family and those of the *Amirs* who had gone with Humáyún's army. Like so many of the men who now fell under Kámrán's brutal displeasure, the women had to feel the bitter and rancorous temper of that treacherous and cruel traitor. They were robbed, ill-fed, deprived of their customary observance, and located in wretched quarters, which were exposed to the fire of the besiegers, their own people. It would seem from Gulbadan that Kámrán took possession of Dildár's house for himself; for he ordered her to betake herself to another. To his half-sister, however, he said: "This is your house also. You stay here." She asked: "Why should I stay here? I will stay where my mother is." Kámrán next desired her to write to her husband, Khizr Khwája Sultáu, and secure his assistance for himself.

We have no information from Gulbadan as to when her marriage took place; nor does she ever name the Khwája as her husband. He was of the Kháns of Mughulistán and his brother, Aq Sultán, was married to Habíba, a daughter of Kámrán. It may be necessary to discount Kámrán's professions of affection for Gulbadan by the degree of his desire to secure for his own service Khizr Khwája's contingent through her instrumentality. Gulbadan, however, was entirely loyal to Humáyún, and she now answers Kámrán's request—that she will write to her husband and tell him, "Now is the time to help—" by saying that the Khwája cannot read a letter and that she has never written him one, and that the Mírzá should himself write what is in his mind. Having said this, she promptly despatches a messenger to counteract anything that Kámrán might say to Khazr, and she warns the Khwája not to trust to professions of brotherly affection from that quarter and against deserting Humáyún. "Beware! a thousand times, beware! that you do not desert his Majesty." "Praise be to God!" she ejaculates, 50 years later, "the

Khán did not go beyond what I had said." He, indeed, joined Humáyún at once before Kábul, and must have been one of the party of besiegers and prisoners who met after the capture of the city. Gulbadan does not name him, and it must be admitted that he plays a second part in all the histories. He was the Begam's husband, and she seems to have considered him chiefly as he might help her brother.

Lady Rosebody's next appearance in her own pages is at the historic meeting, at Taliqán, of Bábar's four sons, Humáyún Kámrán, 'Askari and Hindál. This reunion took place in the autumn of 1548 (955), and after the recapture of Kábul by Humáyún, a reverse which led the hardened sinner, Kámrán, to make professions of repentance and to seek forgiveness. Mr. Erskine has compiled an entertaining account of the submission and pardon of Kámrán; and this is the best possible setting for a little story of Gulbadan's. The meeting was followed by a dinner of reconciliation, and our story fits in before the company sat down. I think it will be admitted amongst the *hors d'œuvres*.

"When Kámrán approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Mun'im Khán who stood by, and, passing it round his neck, presented himself as a criminal. 'Alas! alas!' exclaimed the Emperor, 'there is no need of this; throw it away.' The Mírzá made three obeisances, according to the usual etiquette of the Court, after which the Emperor gave the formal embrace, and commanded him to be seated. Kámrán began to make excuses for his past conduct and to express his regret. 'What is past, is past,' said the Emperor. 'Thus far we have conformed to ceremony. Let us now meet as brothers.' They then rose, and clasped each other to their breasts, in the most affectionate manner; and both burst into tears, sobbing aloud, so as to affect all who were present. Humáyún, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Turkí, the language of the family: 'Sit close to me.' A cup of sherbet was brought, of which the Emperor, having drunk one half, handed it to his brother, who drank the other. A grand entertainment followed, at which the four brothers, who now met for the first time after a long separation, sat on the same carpet and dined, or, to use the words of the historian, ate salt together. The festival was prolonged for two days, in the midst of universal rejoicing."*

Lady Rosebody says that Mírzá Sulaimán was also of the dinner-party. This was, we may remind ourselves, the husband of the masterful Khurram (Karam), without whose permission

* Bábar and Humáyún, II, 358.

he did not go to war. Whatever grounds of offence he may have already had against the penitent (?) Mírzá, these were to be increased a little later, because Kámrán—always courageous—ventured to make love to Khurram. The lady could very well take care of herself—(she had the go-between torn to pieces)—; but she insisted, with taunts, that Sulaimán and her son Ibráhím must quarrel with the Mírzá on her account. But the dinner is waiting during our digression and Gulbadan's contribution belongs to the first course.

The Emperor ordered that, as prescribed by the rules of Chingiz Khán, a ewer and basin (*chilamcht*) should be brought, and hands washed, before eating together. "Majesty washed his hands and Mírzá Kámrán washed his, according to age. Now Sulaimán Mírzá was older than 'Askarí and Hindál Mírzás. For politeness' sake, the two brothers set the ewer and basin before Mírzá Sulaimán. After washing his hands, Mírzá Sulaimán did an improper action with his nose. Mírzá 'Askarí and Mírzá Hindál were very much ruffled at this and said: 'What countrified rudeness is this? Heavens! what right have we to wash hands in the Presence? but when Majesty grants the favour, his order cannot be changed. What sense is there in this nose-wagging?' Then 'Askarí Mírzá and Hindál Mírzá went outside and washed their hands and came in and sat down. Mírzá Sulaimán was extremely ashamed, and then they all ate together."

"At this gathering, Majesty remembered this insignificant one and said to his brothers, 'In Lahor, Gulbadan Begam used to say that she wished she could see all her brothers together; and, as we have been sitting (together) since the morning, her words come into my mind.' It is left open to us to decide whether the sister had her wish or not. From what follows in the text about family movements, it is not improbable that she was with the camp and saw the four together.

If Sulaimán were derisive about Kámrán's repentance, he was fully justified by its sequel; for, in the next following year (1549-956), the penitent again broke his promise of support and left Humáyún alone in difficulties. A little later, he is actually in arms against the Emperor; and on this occasion his treachery led to Hindál's death.

Gulbadan adds some touches to the other accounts of her brother's death. I resist the temptation to quote Mr. Erskine again, and must take from Lady Rosebody only what supplements his account. Kámrán, in November, 1551 (Zí'l-qada, 958), attacked Humáyún's camp at night. Hindál heard one of his men shout for assistance and called for his arms, intending to go to help. "The wardrobe-keeper had lifted up the wallet (of accoutrements), when some one sneezed. He

kept back the wallet for a little time. As this caused delay, Hindál sent some one with a reminder. When this reminder took effect, Hindál asked : 'Why were you so long?' The wardrobe-keeper explained : 'I had lifted up the wallet, when some one sneezed, and for that reason, I laid it down again. This caused the delay.' The Mírzá said : 'You have made a mistake.' (You should rather have said) 'God willing, may he become a martyr!'

After describing the manner of her brother's death, Gulbadan breaks out into this lament : "Would to God that that pitiless sword had touched me or my son, Saádat Yár, or Khizr Khwája Khán!"

Humáyún entrusted to the Khwája the duty of burying the dead body of Hindál. The death had occurred in Juí Sháhí, Khizr's own *jagír*. "Majesty called Khizr Khwája and said : 'Take Mírzá Hindál to Juí Sháhí; take him in charge.' The Khán took the camel's* bridle in his hand and set out with weeping and lamentation. When Majesty heard of this grief, he sent to say to Khizr Khwája : 'One must be patient. My affection is greater than yours ; but I will not give way in face of this blood-thirsty, tyrannical enemy (Kámrán). He is now near at hand. There is nothing for it but patience.' Then the Khán, with a hundred lamentations and breakings-down, took him (Hindál) and left him in Juí Sháhí. Mírzá Kámrán ! crusher of a brother ! friend of the stranger ! pitiless one ! if he had not come on that night, this calamity would not have descended from Heaven. Majesty sent a letter to Kábul. On hearing that letter to his sisters, all Kábul became, so to speak, one house of mourning. Doors even and walls bewailed the misfortunes of the Mírzá, the happy martyr. Gulchihra Begam had gone to the house of Qásim Khán ; and when she returned, it was like the resurrection. She grew ill and distracted with crying."

Unhappily Lady Rosebody's History is drawing to a close—a premature close so far as the B.M.MS. is concerned ; for, although the paging does not indicate it, there are certainly some folios missing. The last but one ends with "Hazrat Pádsháh, after the blinding," and the next following begins with a list of persons who "sang slowly, slowly, as far as Lagh-mán." Clearly they cannot have done this all the way from the Panjáb, where Kámrán was deprived of sight.

Gulbadan's last entry in the B.M.MS. refers to an excursion made for a purpose which finds mention in other places in the histories, namely to visit valleys in the Dánan-i-koh where the plant called *riwáj* grows. The Begams fell under the displeasure of Humáyún ; but there is some

* On which the body was placed.

difficulty in reconciling his annoyance with what Gulbadan tells us. Perhaps the missing pages would explain. The matter seems too serious to have been slight unpunctuality. How was she in fault? Hear her account of the matter: "The royal tents and the pavilions of the Begams had not come up (presumably to the place at which the singing ended, Laghmán). One tent had arrived. Majesty and all of us, and Hamída Bánú Begam also, sat in that tent in company of Majesty, till three hours past midnight. Finally we went to sleep in the aforesaid tent in company of that altar of truth (Humáyún). In the morning he wished to go into the hills to see the *riwáj*. The Begams' horses were in the village, and the time for starting would have gone by before they came up. He (Humáyún) ordered that everyone outside should bring his horse. He told us to mount the horses that were brought. Bíka Begam and Máh Chachak Begam were not dressed. I said to Majesty: 'If you say so, I will fetch them.' He answered: 'Go quickly.' I said to the Begam and Máh Chachak and the rest: 'We are the Emperor's slaves. Why do we annoy him by keeping him waiting?' I collected them all and took them. Majesty met us and said: 'Gulbadan! the proper time to set out has passed. It would be hot before we could reach the place. God willing! we will go after mid-day prayers.' He came to Hamída Bánú Begam's tent and sat down. There was the interval between two prayers, after mid-day prayer, before the horses were brought. At this time, he went away.

"We went into whatever valley of the Dáman-i-koh the *riwáj* had come up, and walked about till evening. Tents were pitched, and we came and made a halt there. The evening was passed in amusement and talk, and we were all in company of that altar of truth.

"In the morning at prayer-time, he left us and from outside (perhaps, from some distance away) wrote separate letters to Bíka Begam and Hamída Bánú Begam and to Máh Chachak Begam and to me and all the Begams, saying: 'Admit your fault in writing. God willing! I shall bid you farewell either at Faíza or Istálf and join the army; otherwise. . . .'"

This is the end of our MS. of Lady Rosebody's *Humáyún-náma*. It has brought her brother's story to within some three years of his death (January, 1556). I can but hope that this article may lead to the happy disclosure of another copy of the MS., and that this may contain an account of Kámíán's departure to Makka and of Humáyún's re-conquest of India and of his death.

Reference to Lady Rosebody is rarely made in the histories. The next at our service speaks of her coming to Hindústán with

Hamída Bánú, now the Empress-mother, in the year following Akbar's accession. Hamída is the centre of the party, and one may well spare a few words for the recapitulation of her adventures since she was a bride at Pátar. All that one hears of her is pleasant, whether as the doubting girl, the much-enduring wife, or the widowed mother. The fifteen years of her married life were full of change and trouble. Sometimes she suffered real hardship; often her experiences were humiliating and bitter. Just before the birth of Akbar, she had made, in dread, danger and intense discomfort, that terrible journey to Amírkot of which one cannot read without a shudder; she had had to abandon her infant child in the hands of an enemy; she had crossed the Bolan in snow and semi-starvation, with foes in front and rear; she had been an exile in Persia, a prisoner in Kábul, and through all these adventures she was the wife of an opium-eater. She was now widowed, and under her son's protecting rule was to enjoy many years of peace and maternal pride.

The young Emperor twice gave and twice cancelled orders for his mother's journey. When he thought that the roads were sufficiently safe to allow of her safe conduct, he issued them again. This was just after the victory over Hemú at Pánípat. Although Akbar was at Mankot, in the most western skirts of the Sewálíks, when his mother joined him, her journey must have occupied several months. The cavalcade was large; for it included many wives of the *Amírs* who had gone with Humáyún to India. With Hamída were Lady Rosebody and also her sister, Lady Roseface (Gulchihra). Two other well-known women were of the party, Bika Begam, Humáyún's widow, and the once captive of Sher Sháh, and Salíma Sultán Begam, a daughter of Lady Rosehue (Gulrang). Bika Begam had yet to earn, by the labours of a pilgrimage, her later *sobriquet* of Hájí. Salíma was an educated woman, a poetess who used the *nom-de-plume* of Anonyma. She had been betrothed by Humáyún (her uncle) to Bairám Khán, and on the arrival of Hamída's cortège at Mankot the marriage was celebrated. Later on, when widowed, she married her cousin, the Emperor.

We miss greatly the pen of our now silent gossip, for the details she would certainly have given us of the re-union of mother and son and of Salíma's marriage in camp, could not but have added colour to the bare statements of the histories.

Ten years pass before we find any other mention of Gulbadan Begam. It is in 1576 (983) that we hear of her going on pilgrimage. She had long desired to fulfil this pious duty; but her nephew had not been willing to part with her. She carried her point, however, at last. Perhaps she urged her ad-

vancing years, for she was now well over fifty. Perhaps she urged these the more strenuously from a reason outside herself. This was the time of innovations at Court in religious opinion and practice, and of a ferment of thought which might well trouble an orthodox, old-fashioned believer such as Gulbadan seems to have been. She might have wished to remove herself from sights and sounds which were antipathetic to her cherished doctrines. It is recorded by Badáoní that the leader of the pilgrimage in the year of Lady Rosebody's departure was a man who wished to leave Hindústán because of the changes and heresies which were more than tolerated at Court.

The Mír Haj was Khwája Yahiya, a strict Musalman. From Badáoní's biographical notice, we find that he was distinguished for three things, his hand-writing, his skill in medicine, and his inheritance of good qualities and habits. He was close of speech and open of hand, spending his revenues in hospitality to high and low. It was to him that poor Husain, the Patcher (*Tukriya*), was indebted for decent burial.

From Abú-l-fazl we learn the names of the principal ladies of the pilgrimage party. Next to Gulbadan comes Salfma Sultán, her niece of the full blood. It was certainly unusual for a woman unwidowed and so young to go on pilgrimage; but Salfma was distinguished from most of Akbar's wives by her attainments, and had, moreover, I believe, no children. Two other nieces, but of remote kin, come next, daughters of Kámrán Mírzá. They are called Hájl and Gul-azár. The first is a daughter of Máham Afriúz Begha. If, as seems to be the case, she had earned the title of Hájl before the time of Gulbadan's pilgrimage, it may be that she went with her father to Makka after he had been blinded. The missing pages of the MS. would probably make this clear, for Gulbadan would be likely to enumerate the companions of Kámrán. Gul-azár Begam's mother's name, I do not yet know. These two would feel their Hájl of doubly pious significance; for they would visit the tombs of their father, and also of his Aghún wife, Máh Chachak, whose fidelity and womanly speech to her father, Sháh Husain of Sind, are commemorated by most of the histories. Even if neither Begam could give Máh Chachak the title of mother, both must have held her in reverence. Next we find a grand-daughter of Gulbadan herself. She enjoys the name, Um Kulsúm—Mother of Plumpness—, but this was bestowed probably less with hope for the future, than out of respect for the past, in the person of the Prophet's daughter. The next, Gulnár Aghácha, must have been a woman well-advanced in years, for she was a widow of Bábar. Gulbadan frequently names her as being at feasts and family conferences. Of Bibí Safiya I have as yet no details, further than that she

was of Humáyún's haram ; she appears also in our *Humáyún-náma*. Bîbî Sarwisahî, the Straight Cypress, was a reciter and Shaham Agha a singer, and both had been in Humáyún's household. These two were amongst those who "sang slowly, slowly, on the way to Laghmán." The last name in Abú-l-fazl's list is Salfma Khánam, who is called a daughter of Khizr Khwája. Nothing is said to let us know if she were also Gulbadan's child, and her position in the list rather makes against this. She may have been the child of another wife, or another Khwája.

The party was, therefore, composed of close associates or kinswomen. Many other ladies, however, joined the pilgrimage and took advantage of its escort. Akbar defrayed the expenses of at least some of these, when they expressed a wish to accompany his aunt.

The caravan left Agra in September, 1574 (Jumáda II. 982), and Badáoní tells us that it reached Makka in November, 1575 (Sha'bán, 983). It was escorted one stage, to Dábir, by Prince Salím. Prince Murád was to have accompanied it to the coast ; but, by the request of Mír Haj, he went back with Salím. This is not surprising ; for Salím was about five, and Murád about four years old. The real charge of the caravan was with several *Amírs*, three of whom are named ;—Baqí Khán, the elder son of Máham Anaga ; Rumí Khán Ustád Halabi, who may have been a Turk of Aleppo and an interpreter, and Abdu-r-rahím Beg, who figures in one of Badáoní's less desirable stories.

There is great lack of precise details about the *Haj*. We do not know if the *Amírs* went to Arabia, nor what was the port of embarkation. There was "peace with the Isles of the Franks ;" but it took a year to get to sea. Caravans usually left Agra on the pilgrimage in the tenth month of the Muhammadan year (Shawál) ; but Gulbadan left in the seventh (Jumáda II.), about mid October (end of Míhr). Perhaps it was difficult to get boats for such a large party of women and their impedimenta ; perhaps its inertia kept it long where it had once stopped. It reached Makka in November, 1575, (Sha'bán 983), and there were yet four months before the Great *Haj* could be made, in March, 1576.

Gulbadan staid some three and a half years in the holy city, and she was thus, in addition to the lesser pilgrimages, enabled to perform the Great *Haj* four times. This would, it may be inferred, be in March, 1576, in February 1577, in February 1578 and in January 1579.*

* Mr. Lowe (Badáoní 217) has the following note to his words "four pilgrimages" (Gulbadan's): "Kerbala, Kum, Mashhad and Makka." I think this is a mistake, and that Gulbadan made the four in Makka. Mr. Beveridge has

It would have been most interesting to hear from herself an account of the ways and means of the pilgrimage. Did she go through all those laborious and singular ceremonies which are detailed in Hughes' Dictionary of Islám?

It is a marvellous recital, and what it must be in practice to Believers, it is impossible for us to guess. The ceremonies must have been extremely laborious and exhausting. They are very striking in the recapitulation;—the halt within six miles of the city to put on the seamless wrappers; the kissing of the black stone and the inevitable crowd and press (which may have been mitigated for ladies of the royal family of Hindústán); the runnings up and down, seven times repeated, from one hill-top to another; the encompassing of the *kaaba* day after day; the hearings of orations in the great mosque; and that fullest of all the crowded days, both from the actual things to be done and their awful symbolism, when the stones are thrown at the imaged Devils, and when the pilgrim's hand must slay the sacrificial goat. How much of all these things are obligatory on women? and here we sigh again for Gulbadan's pen. Hughes ends his most interesting account of the ceremonies with the words "three days of well-earned rest after the peripatetic performance of the last four days!" We do not know if Gulbadan went to Madina; but, during such a long sojourn as hers in Arabia, she would probably discharge every possible duty to her faith.

We know that Khwája Yahiya did not remain with the royal party, for he is recorded as escorting another *Haj* before Gulbadan made up her mind to return to Hindústán. *En passant*, I may mention that, in the year following Gulbadan's departure from Agia, another kiusman followed her, Mírzá Sulaimán, for whose travelling expenses Akbar provided 70,000 *rupees* in cash, with other necessities for the journey. Pilgrimages were clearly a costly luxury, as we have other evidence to prove, for did not Akbar's foster-brother bewail his own shorn condition when he had been to Makka?

At length the Emperor seems to have sent a decisive order for the Begam's return. The royal wish was explained to them "with much trouble" by Khwája Yahiya; and, "of necessity," says Abú-l-fazl, "they quitted their Arabian domicile." Their return voyage was adventurous, for it included

shown me a passage in the *Khulá'a'u-t-tawáikh* which, speaking of Kámran's visit to Makka, says, "*Mírzá dar án makán shawf rasldand, ba'd daryafund sin haj.*" Kámran went to Makka in 1553 and died there 1557. He is not anywhere said to have gone on pilgrimage to any other shrine. This passage supports my view of Gulbadan's pilgrimages. Moreover, if she had made others to places so remote as those named by Mr. Lowe, such an act of piety could not have escaped all contemporary writers. No doubt, if Mr. Lowe had had my intimate acquaintance with the Begam, he would have considered my view of this matter.

a shipwreck off Aden. This is said to have detained them in Aden seven months, and the Governor quitted the path of good manners and was complained of to his sovereign, Sultán Murád of Rúm, and subsequently punished. A contemporary writer, Báyzíd Bayát, gives a pleasant and useful detail of his own voyage to Makka, which fixes one date of the Begam's stay in Aden. Báyzíd, it will be remembered was one of those who, like Gulbadan, obeyed the royal order and wrote a history (Note see *ante*). He was also a brother of Bahráw Saqqá, the poet, whose tomb is in Bardwán. He had sailed from Dáman, a Portuguese port some 100 miles to the north of Bombay, in March 18th, 1580 (Safar 1st 988), and came within sight of the heights and fort of Aden on the fourteenth following day (April 1st). He saw a small boat putting off towards his ship from Aden, and, although the wind was in his favour, had his sails lowered and waited for it. It proved to be one sent to inquire what his ship was by the shipwrecked Gulbadan Begam and Khwája Yahiya. He answered their questions and says that he received a reply from them in Makka.

It was not till the April of 1582 (two years after Báyzíd had news of them in Aden) that the Hájís met the Emperor in Khánwa (Fathpúr). The interval was spent partly in travelling, by sea and from Gujrát to Agrá, and partly in a long halt, which Badáoní calls a year's, in Gujrát itself. This halt is attributed to waiting on account of the rains and for the return of the Emperor from Kábul.

On their northward journey to the capital, the Begams were met by Prince Salm near Ajmír, and then, day after day, by some *Amír* charged with greetings from the Emperor. The Mír Haj, to whose trio of distinctions another may now surely be added, hurried in advance of his convoy to pay respects to the Emperor, who was approaching to meet the Hájís. The Mír delivered to his sovereign letters from the princes of Arabia and showed a list of their gifts. Akbar then continued his march and met the Begams at Khánwa. It was some seven and a half years since he had given Gulbadan permission to make her pilgrimage. That there were great accumulations of talk is proved by the night of reunion being kept awake by questions and entrancing stories. Gifts were displayed and "happiness brimmed over." One item of family news must have clouded the meeting. Bika—herself a Hájí—had gone to her rest very shortly before the arrival of the old friends, whom she would have welcomed.

Sparse and brief are now the notices of Gulbadan Begam. The name "Rosebody," which fitted childhood and youth, does not slip from the pen when its owner is more than

sixty years old. One falls back on the "Gulbadan—" a veil over faded charms—, and one sees compensation for the unpoetic habit which names children from elder relations.

The inference that the *Humáyún-náma* was written about 1587 gives us our next item of the doings of Gulbadan. This date leaves some four years blank after the return from Arabia. There is something quite quaint and singular in the fact that the woman who had lived through so much, and who had just become a Hājī, should now devote herself to literature! Was this her first flight into that delightful air? If not, one must the more admire her courage in beginning so late. Whether she had ever taken pen in hand before or not, she had manifested a taste for other people's writings; for Báýazíd tells us she possessed a library. Of his history of Humáyún, there were nine copies made, and these were thus distributed. Two went to the Emperor; three to the princes; one to Gulbadan Begam's library; two to Abú-l-fazl, and the ninth, presumably, was the author's own. Since nine copies of Báýazíd's book were made, the hope rises that nine were also made of Gulbadan's, which was produced under the same stimulus and for the same end. If this were so, some may still exist in the libraries of old established Muhammadan families. Now that the gaps in my story have emphasised the loss caused by the incompleteness of the B.M.M.S., I venture again to ask the help of any gentlemen who may possess, or know a possessor of, Gulbadan's book.

Abú-l-fazl names Gulbadan Begam, when she is over seventy years old, as having a grandson who left Court in some degree of disfavour. She rises again to the surface, when, with her long-tried friends, Hamída and Salíma, she intercedes with Akbar for his son Salím. Yet once more, before we come to the last scene of her long life, she is named, and here as the recipient, with Hamída Bánú, of a large sum of money, a gift of the Emperor in a *kalandar*-mood. One other fragment of information about her we possess. In Akbar's encampments, Gulbadan Begam's tent was pitched close to that of the Empress-mother. Its place may be seen in the diagram of the royal camp in Prof. Blochmann's *Atn*.

When the "time for her departure came," Gulbadan had fever for a few days. She died early in February, 1603 (Ramazán 6th, 1011). Abú-l-fazl's continuator, says that for eighty-two years she had added day to day in the endeavour to please Ináyatu-l-lá, God. These are lunar years, and she may have lived till her eightieth solar year; but exactitude is impracticable in the matter. "The Emperor had great affection for her, and, to show his respect, placed his shoulder under her bier and accompanied it a few steps. He made large gifts and per-

formed good works, in order that the pure soul of that adorer of the litter of the everlasting kingdom might find peace." Hamída Bánú was with her to the end. "Just when she was at the point of death, which is the time of unconsciouness and forgetfulness, Hamída Bánú Begam came to her pillow. Although she called her *Jiu* (Elder Sister), she received no answer. As this name of affection had long been used between them, she repeated it with Gulbadan's own name. The dying woman unclosed her eyes and passed away with this line on her lips, 'I die in affliction ; may you gain your life's desire.' "

When a story is ended, the teller feels a check and a blankness. Then thought, set free from the thrall of detail, runs back and brings again an image of what has been told. Between the times when Bábar, a child of eleven, found himself a king and the days when Akbar saw himself an Emperor at fourteen, the thronging drama swirls, and turns, and shapes itself into a terrible whirlpool in which, under the changing lights of faith and falseness, love and hate, life and death, eddy men and women, and thrones, and armies.

Of the flotsam and jetsam which the rushing eddy dragged without engulfing, Gulbadan was a part. Born in such purple as her father's occupation of Kábul could afford, she felt herself a proud daughter of kings. The awakening eyes of her early womanhood saw Humáyún's brief pageant ; and she sank, with him, from the height to which her father's arm had lifted him. Fugitive and a prisoner, she had known the radical wants of food and fire, and the terror of the defenceless in flight before the armed. She had been homeless, save for the flitting camp ; sick at heart for the treachery of Kámrán and the folly of Humáyún. But fate redressed the scale, and let her, for nearly half a century, live honoured and with the observance of a beloved princess, under the protection of the greatest of her line.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

ART. IX.—THE DIARY OF GOVINDA DAS.

Continued from the "Calcutta Review" for January 1898.

AFTER miraculously restoring the blind man's sight, Chaitanya left Padmakota, which is modern Padukota, and journeyed to Tripátra, to pay his homage to Chandeswara, a form of Siva at that place. The temple of the deity, we are told, was so large and so skilfully constructed, that, when the Saivas uttered the syllable "Bom," accompanied with a peculiar striking of the cheek, the echo was prolonged for nearly half an hour, reverberating through every aisle and corridor. The chief of the Pandits of the place was one Bharga, who soon conceived an ardent admiration for Chaitanya, and became one of his followers.

Chaitanya staid a week at Tripátra, proclaiming the name of Hari, and converted a very large number of men to Vaishnavism. Our author relates, that he ate sparingly, and grew leaner and leaner every day; but, with loss of flesh, he gained in lustre. On leaving Tripátra, he was followed for a long distance by a large crowd, and it was with difficulty that he persuaded Bharga to return with his men. After a time the pilgrims came to an immense forest, said to be 50 yojanas in extent, where the roads were narrow and overhung with forest trees. For want of other shelter they slept under trees, and their food consisted of wild fruit. It took them a full fortnight to cross the forest, and after that period of suffering they came to Seringam, with its famous temple of the Man-Lion Incarnation. The image is described as of exquisite workmanship, and the sight of it had the usual effect on Chaitanya's mental constitution.

There was an ignorant Brahmana at Seringam who knew nothing of Sanskrit, but was fond of reciting the Divine Lay or Bhagavadgíta. His pronunciation was execrable, and he understood very little of what he read. People laughed at him, but he paid no heed to them. Hearing of this man, Chaitanya went to see him, and found him engaged in the recitation, while the tears trickled down his cheek. Chaitanya asked the man the cause of his weeping, whereupon he said, he did not understand the Gíta, but, on opening the MS., he saw the vision of Krishna engaged in driving the chariot of Arjuna, and it was his fondness for this divine vision that led him to read the Gíta. Chaitanya found a kindred spirit in this man, and the two soon became fast friends, the Brahman regarding Chaitanya as an incarnation of Vishnu.

From Seingam the pilgrims went to Mount Rishabha,

where they met Paránanda Puri, and thence to Rámnáth to pay their respects to the image of Ráma. From Rámnáth (modern Ramnand) Setubandha Ramesvaram is a short distance. Here was said to be the continental end of the bridge thrown across the Gulf of Pannar by Ráma on the occasion of his famous invasion of Ceylon. The image of Siva at Ramesvaram is said to have been consecrated by Ráma himself as the guardian of the bridge. Chaitanya worshipped the image, and, after remaining three days in the place, went to Madhvivana towards the left.

Here he found a Sannyási who had vowed never to speak. He cared nought for his staff or his water pot. He did not even care for the usual accompaniment of an Indian mendicant, a piece of rag to cover his nakedness. Every third day he took a little fruit which was brought him by other mendicants. Chaitanya had to wait two days for this interesting Sannyási to interrupt his meditation and open his eyes. As he did not understand Chaitanya's language, Chaitanya was obliged, at last, to speak in Sanskrit; and, after a long time, the Sannyási broke his silence, and spoke a few words to him. Chaitanya was attracted by the place and the company so much that he remained there seven days. After that he went to bathe at Tallvakundi, a small holy pool of water, and thence to the river Támrarni. The merit of bathing in this river at the time of the full moon of Mágha was thought to be very great, and Sannyásis from all parts of India flocked there. As it still wanted fifteen days to the full moon, Chaitanya had to wait a fortnight for the arrival of the auspicious moment. Then, crossing over, he reached Kanyá Kumari, Cape Comorin, on the seashore. There, with the measureless expanse of the sea before them, Chaitanya and his companion bathed, and, lying on the beach, let the waves flow over them. Afterwards Chaitanya joined a company of Sannyásis who had come there for the same purpose, and went to Mount Santal, which was thirty miles away. Nothing was procurable there, and Govinda was in very low spirits, while Chaitanya lay under a tree, intent upon proclaiming the name of Hari day and night, and the Sannyásis sat round him and began to sing and ring the Khanjani described above. Then there came a certain banker who gave each of them a quantity of fruits and roots, milk and sugar. The next morning they directed their steps towards Travankor, crossing a mountain by the way. We are told that it was an exceedingly flourishing country, and that the King, Rudrapati, was very popular and the people were very hospitable. There were three places in the city where the destitute poor were fed at the Rájá's expense. The pilgrims arrived at the capital

at dusk and got some oats to eat. The next morning the news of Chaitanya's arrival spread through the city, and people flocked to see him. Many persons, especially the followers of Sankara, challenged him to a disputation ; but he, as usual, declined their challenge. The Rájá sent for him, but he declined to go, whereupon the Rájá, not in the least offended, came out on foot to see him. The Rájá was a learned man, well versed in Chaitanya's favourite work, the Bhagavata, and was heartily welcomed by Chaitanya, who, however, told him plainly that he did not care at all for learning ; the only thing he cared for was a feeling of devotion to Rádhá and Krishna. Their conversation went deeper into the meaning of devotion, and Chaitanya fell into a trance before the Rájá. At one time, the diarist tells us, he would stand erect ; at another time he would fall flat on the ground ; sometimes he danced, sometimes he sang the name of Hari. Once he fell in front of the Rájá, who raised him up, and became infected with his spirit and became entranced. His Majesty also began to dance ; his hair stood on end ; his tears wetted the ground, and his body became besmeared with dust. Finding a kindred spirit in the Rájá, Chaitanya embraced him and parted from him with very kind words.

Greatly to the delight of Govinda, the Rájá, on returning home, caused quantities of eatables to be supplied to the mendicants. The country is described as surrounded by mountains, and Govinda was much impressed with the magnificence of the scenery, the abundance of running water, and the grandeur of the nim trees. There is a hill named Rámagiri in that part of the country, where, it is said, Rána, Sita and Lakshana stopped for three days, on their way back to Ajodyá, after the overthrow of Rávana. Chaitanya went, with a large number of followers to see the spot ; rested where Rána is said to have rested in the days of yore, and staid there for a fortnight on the summit of the hill.

Then he went to the city of Payoshnī, with its celebrated temple of Sivanāráyana, and thence to the monastery of Singári, the great monastery at the birth-place of Sankarācháryya, now inhabited by the staunch adherents of Sankar's non-dual theory. Thence he went to the fish pool, and from the fish pool to Kácháda on the Bhadra, a tributary of the Krishna, where there was an image of Bhágavati. From there he successively visited Nágapanchapadi, where the people were worshippers of Ráma, Chitol, shown in the maps as Chittaldurg, beyond the mountains, the Tungabhadra, Kotigiri, the source of the Káveri, Satyagiri, the scenery of which is described as charming, and lastly to Chandapore, where an impertinent and conceited Sannyási named Isvara Bhárati challenged him to a

disputation. Chaitanya declined the challenge, but Isvara was inexorable. He brought four of his followers and, surrounding him on all sides, demanded a disputation. "You have made a great name," he said, "by inducing people to take the name of Hari. I at first thought there was some substance in you; but now I find you are an ignorant man, innocent of the Shastras, and a great charlatan." Chaitanya, who was living under a burr tree, offered to give him a written acknowledgment of his defeat in disputation, but the man would not go. Then Chaitanya began to exhibit the magic of his proclamation, and his whole bearing was so impressive that the Sannyási was filled with awe and finally enrolled himself as one of his disciples.

Leaving Chandiapore, they had to travel for two days and nights over hills and through valleys where they met no human being. The Kadamba was the only tree to be seen for miles, and the sight of so many Kadamba trees brought vividly before Chaitanya's mental vision the days of Krishna's sports under that tree at Brindavana. There were tigers, too, in the place, some of which fell within the range of Govinda's vision, but they did not molest him. After two days they arrived at a small village, inhabited by very poor people, and Govinda went to beg at the door of a poor Brahman. The Brahman had nothing to offer; but he was a religious man and knew that it would be improper to send away a guest, and so, asking Govinda to wait, he went to beg in the village and brought two cocoanuts for him. Govinda and his master satisfied their hunger with these; and the Brahman's pious conduct induced Chaitanya to pay him a visit at his cottage. The Brahman was a votary of Gopál, or the boy Krishna, and had set up an image of that deity in his humble abode, where all his efforts were directed to his proper worship. He was so poor that, on Chaitanya's arrival, he had nothing to offer him to sit on. The Brahman's wife advised him to make the honoured guest sit on his head, for, she said, he was no other than the Gopál they worshipped. This induced the Brahman to offer tulasi leaf at the feet of Chaitanya. This divine honour staggered Chaitanya, and he rebuked the Brahman for thinking him what he was not. But the conviction of the Brahmana was unaltered; and both he and his wife offered their heads as a seat, whereupon Chaitanya raised them up and began to proclaim the name of Hari.

Their way next lay through the charming scenery of the Nilgiris, near the country known as Kandara. For days they had no food. Govinda had now so completely mastered his passion for eating that, if ordered by Chaitanya, he could go for days without food and without feeling the least sense of weakness. He went to beg if Chaitanya ordered him to do so; if not, he

did not care. One fine morning they came to a prosperous and populous city named Gurjari, and took up his quarters by a pool, sacred to the sage Augusta, outside the city, where he bathed and began to sing *Kirttan* songs. One by one, people came to see the inspired Sannyási. The vehemence of his feelings attracted a large crowd, and many of them became his followers. A learned man, named Arjuna, deeply versed in the Advaita philosophy of Sankar, had a disputation with him; and he succeeded by arguments and texts in showing that Sankara's theory was absolutely untenable. Máyá, he said, is only a shadow of Brahma. It cannot touch him. It influences the Jiva, or individual soul, only, which should try hard and sincerely to extricate itself from its influence by repeating the name of Hari. So saying, he began to cry aloud: "Where are you, oh, my Krishna." The people who came to mock and scoff, or to hold a disputation, all remained silent. Unconscious of all external existence, Chaitanya began to cry aloud for his beloved deity, till every one present felt, as it were, his presence. Govinda says he had often seen Chaitanya pray, but never with so much effect or so much ardour.

From Gurjari Chaitanya was anxious to go to Puná. He spoke to no one for seven days, and, without stopping, ascended the hills at Bijápore. On one of the peaks there was a temple dedicated to Siva and his consort Pārbati. After paying his devotions at the temple, he descended to the plains and continued his journey northwards. Soon afterwards the outlines of the Sahya mountains became visible. Govinda had yet seen nothing so beautiful, and he is all enthusiasm in his praise of the scenery. Leaving the mountains to the left, Chaitanya went northward till he reached his destination, the city of Puná. It was a seat of Sanskrit learning, and students from all parts of India flocked to the place for instruction. Taking up his quarters under the shade of a vakula tree, near a tank, named the Acchasara, or transparent sheet of water, he began to receive visits from learned people of all sorts. One afternoon he was passionately calling upon Krishna, when a Brahman who was standing by, said that Krishna was hiding himself in the tank. On hearing this, Chaitanya plunged into the water and was dragged out with great difficulty. When he recovered consciousness, the people around rebuked the Brahman who had caused him to plunge into the water. But Chaitanya appeased them, saying, "devoted worshippers see Krishna in every place, on land, in water, and even in the skies; so the good man has done no wrong." His stay at Puná was long and eventful.

Bholesvar was the next place of pilgrimage. From Puná one had to go to Pátasgrama, where there is a pass known as

Gore-ghat, and close by is the gigantic temple of Bholesvara, on the summit of a hill. There is a sacred well there, known as Siddha Kúpa, the water of which was used by Chaitanya for the purpose of bathing. Close to Bholesvara is Devalesvara, on the summit of another hill; and the town of Jijuri was at no great distance from it. In Jijuri is a temple dedicated to Khandavá, to whom are offered in marriage all girls who for any reason cannot get husbands. The girls of poor parents are generally married to Khandavá, in whose service they pass their days. These girls gradually became public women and were a great pest of the place. Many religious people went there on pilgrimage, but the so-called wives of Khandavá led them astray. Chaityana was anxious to reform and reclaim them, and sought their company and began to preach to them. A large number joined him in proclaiming the name of Hari. These girls are known by the name of Muráris. The chief of the Muráris was Indira, who, at the instance of Chaitanya, renounced the world, gave away all her wealth to others, and, with tears in her eyes and the name of Hari on her lips, became a mendicant.

Close to Jijuri was a large forest tract, known as Choránandibana, terribly infested with robbers, and Chaitanya determined to pass through it. People endeavoured to dissuade him from so dangerous a step; but he was inexorable. Near a large tree in the forest, he was set upon by a number of dacoits, whose rendezvous was close by. They held a parley, in a language unknown to Govinda, and then went away and returned with a strongly built man, armed from head to foot. This was Naroji, their leader. Finding Chaitanya to be a Sannyási, Naroji respectfully bowed to him and invited him to his house; but Chaitanya declined to go and declared his resolution to stay under the tree for the night. Naroji supplied him with all the necessaries of life. But, in the short interval between his order and his servant's execution of it, Chaitanya fell into an ecstatic dance. The articles of food were scattered, and Chaitanya lost all consciousness of his surroundings, while he proclaimed the name of Hari. The destruction of articles of food brought with so much care offended many of Naroji's followers; but Naroji was far from sharing their displeasure. He was beginning to feel remorse for his past misconduct and was gradually coming to a resolution to renounce the world. The dacoits stood motionless at the sight of the frantic conduct of Chaitanya. It was at dusk that Chaitanya regained his consciousness, and Naroji, falling at his feet, prayed for salvation. He was the son of a Brahmana and was sixty years of age. He had no wife or children. He threw away all his arms, renounced the leadership of the band

of dacoits, and became an attendant of Chaitanya, like Govinda. Naroji's experience as a traveller was of very great use to Chaitanya in his pilgrimage.

After crossing the forest of dacoits, they came to Khandala, on the river Múlá, the water of which was believed to dispel the sin accumulated for many births. Here the pilgrims bathed; and Govinda and Naroji went to beg for food. The people of Khandala were noted for their hospitality and every one was anxious to entertain Chaitanya; but he began to proclaim the name of Hari and forgot all about food, till, at midnight, he fell exhausted on the ground.

The next day the pilgrims went to Nasik, where Lakshmana, the brother of Ráma, is said to have cut off the nose of Súrpanakhá, the sister of Rávana, and thereby brought about the great war at Lanká. The place is called Násik, from Násiká, the Sanskrit word for nose. A little towards the north, near a place called Trimuka, are the remains of Ráma's hermitage, where what are believed to be his foot-prints are still to be seen, by the side of a spring in a dense forest. Chaitanya went there and saw them, and was overpowered with emotion. He remained for two days in a trance without touching food. At Panchavati, or the cluster of five trees near the hermitage of Ráma, they found the image of Ganesa consecrated by Lakshmana. From Panchavati they proceeded to Daman, and, travelling towards the north, reached Surath, the capital of King Surath, so celebrated in Chandi, the standard work of Sakti worship. The image of Chandi with eight arms is the principal object of pilgrimage in that place, and Chaitanya remained there for three days in order to pay his homage to her. There he explained to a Sannyási the impropriety and iniquity of animal sacrifices, and induced some persons who had brought goats for the purpose to set them free.

From Surath to the Tapti is a short distance. On the banks of the river there is a temple, sacred to the Dwarf incarnation, which is said to have been built by Bali, the King of the Asuras, who had conquered the world, but was induced in a great sacrifice, to grant as much land as would measure three feet of the dwarf. As soon as he agreed to grant this land, the dwarf assumed gigantic proportions and revealed that he was no dwarf, but the infinite being himself, Vishnu, in the form of a dwarf. With two steps he covered the earth and the sky. So Bali had to take the other foot on his head and to retire to the nether regions. His great place of sacrifice was Bharouch, known as Bhṛigu Kachchha, or the precipitate sea-shore, in Sanskrit, Bharu Kachchha in Pali, and Barigaza in Latin. Bali dedicated a temple to the dwarf on the banks of the Tapti. There is the kunda or pit of sacrifice, a very large one, still to

be found at Bharouch. From Tapti the pilgrims went to the Narmadā and performed their ablutions there. They found Baroda to be an excellent place, with the temple of Dankoriji situated at a short distance to the East. The Hindu Rájá of Baroda was a worshipper of Krishna, and used to cleanse the Govinda temple with his own hands and personally superintend every detail of worship. Here poor Naroji died, and Chaitanya performed the last rites for his servant, procuring the necessary funds by begging. As Naroji had been a Sannyási, he was buried, and round his burial place Chaitanya began to sing and proclaim the name of Hari. The Rájá, on hearing of the presence of a remarkable Sannyasi in his city, came to see him; found him engaged in this *Kirttan*, and, being charmed with his bearing, invited him to his palace. Chaitanya declined the offer with thanks; but the Rájá was importunate. At last it was resolved that Govinda should go; but Govinda's evil propensity was so completely changed that he begged for a handful of rice and nothing more.

From Baroda, proceeding westward, the travellers came to the magnificent city of Ahmedabad. Chaitanya did not enter the city, but fixed his abode near a garden called Nandini, outside the city. The people of Ahmedabad paid him great honour, and he was assiduous in preaching his doctrines to them. After some days he resumed his journey, and took a westerly direction. At a short distance they found a fine stream, named the Subhramati, and among the pilgrims there, to their great delight, two Bengalis, Rámánanda and Govindacharan. This Rámánanda was the well-known Rámánanda Basu, the grandson of Gunarāja Khán, one of the oldest Bengali poets, belonging to the village known as Kulingráma in the district of Burdwan. He belonged to the Vaishnava sect, and was therefore delighted to make Chaitanya's acquaintance, especially under such strange circumstances, and, after a short conversation, they agreed to proceed together to Dwarka.

Journeying towards the west, they came to a large village known as Ghogha, where lived one Baramukhi, a woman of ill-fame, who had acquired immense wealth in her profession. She had a large house splendidly furnished, with a numerous establishment, and a large garden known as Piyár Kánan, or the Grove of Love. Chaitanya took up his abode by the side of this garden, under an ancient nim-tree.

Here, in the afternoon, when they had partaken of a meal obtained by Govinda by begging, Chaitanya began a *Kirttan*, and a great multitude of the people of the place assembled to see and hear him. Among them was a notorious ill-liver, who taunted him with having come to get money from the people by fraud, but was won over by his conciliatory manner and his

exhortations. Baramukhi, too, the courtesan to whom the garden belonged, and who watched the proceedings of Chaitanya from the windows of her house, was smitten with remorse for her past life, and went down and begged Chaitanya to save her. Making over all her wealth to a favourite maid-servant, she cut off her hair as a pledge of her sincerity and insisted on renouncing the world and becoming a nun, and Chaitanya, after hesitating for some time, consented to preach to her and admit her into the order.

From Ghogha, Chaitanya went to Somnath by a road which lay *via* Jafferabad, a place inhabited by poor but very hospitable people. It took them three days to reach this place, where they stayed one night at the garden of a florist. Thence, in six days, they reached Somnath, which was now a mass of shapeless ruins and mounds of debris. Chaitanya was greatly touched at the state of what had once been one of the most magnificent shrines of India and he cursed the people who, for money, had allowed the foremost sanctuary in the country to fall into this miserable condition. There were still some priests of Somnath there who lived in wretched huts, and who showed the pilgrims all the important ruins. While they were thus engaged, a great storm arose in the neighbourhood. The dust filled the air and a great wind sprang up, and in the midst of the dust, Govinda relates, there appeared a venerable-looking old man with gray hair covering his back. He appeared to descend from above in front of Chaitanya, and, after embracing and conversing with him, vanished, whereupon the dust-storm ceased. This, it was believed, was Somanátha himself, who had come to welcome an incarnation of Vishnu. Chaitanya perambulated the holy field three times and held a long and enthusiastic *Kirtan* in honour of Somanátha. When he was about to leave the place, a few of the priests wanted money from the mendicants, but Chaitanya had nothing to give them. Thereupon the second Govinda gave two of the Pándás a rupee each.

From Somanáth the pilgrims journeyed to Junagadh, a large and populous town, where they rested for two days and then went to see the image of Ran-chhor-ji. Miráji, the priest, paid every attention to the guests and showed them the way to Mount Girnar, where there is a foot-print known as Gurudatta Charan. On their way to Girnar they came upon a company of mendicants in a most pitiful plight, owing to the severe illness of their leader, Bhargadeva. Chaitanya bade his followers tend the patient carefully and administer to him a quantity of nim juice, which completely cured him. The Charana at Girnar was at the top of the hill, the ascent of which occupied them the whole day, from morning till dusk. The foot-prints were

believed to have been left there by Krishna with a view to satisfying his votaries when he left the earth for Baikuntha, at the end of the third age, named Dwápara. The feelings of Chaitanya at the sight of this relic of Krishna were indescribable, and it was with difficulty that he could be induced to descend. The next day they passed the night on the banks of the Bhadrá, after crossing which they entered a large forest known as Dhanvidhara Jhátri, and terribly infested with wild beasts, where they had nothing but wild fruits to appease their hunger. After seven days of terrible suffering, they arrived at Amarápurī Gopítala, also known as Prabhása-tírtha, where the Jádavas, the kith and kin of Krishna, fell fighting with each other just before his disappearance from the earth.

The sight of the place filled Chaitanya with deep emotion. For three days he preached with the wildest enthusiasm and produced a great impression on the people of Amarápurī. There was the pit in which Krishna was said to have poured his libations of ghee at Prabhás, at its southern extremity. There are so many associations connected with this pit at Prabhása to the Hindu mind that Chaitanya was overpowered with the feelings which agitated him. After seeing the sacrificial pit and all the holy spots connected with the sacrifice, they left for Dwarká which they reached on the first day of Asvina, or September-October. They travelled by the sea-shore for three days, and on the fourth had to cross a rope bridge in order to enter Dwarká, the capital of Krishna and the chief seat of Vishnu-worship in India. On crossing, the hill of Raivataka rose before them, a noble and magnificent sight, associated with innumerable incidents of Krishna's life and the history of his race. For fifteen days Chaitanya remained at Dwarká, preaching to the people, who listened with attention. When he sang the *Kirtan*, they joined him, and they fed him with whatever they could get. Even the priests, so notorious for their selfishness, gave him a grand entertainment at the temple, and fed all the destitute people in his honour. Chaitanya, with his own hand, distributed the food consecrated to Vishnu to the decrepid and the lame, the blind and the deaf and dumb. From Dwarká they proceeded to Vidyanagara, for Chaitanya was unwilling to go to Puri without Rámánanda Raja, the governor of the place.

They crossed over the channel to Guzerat and reached Baroda on the last day of Asvina. Thence, travelling southward, they reached the Narmadā in sixteen days; he then proceeded eastwards. Travelling along the bank of the Narmadā, the pilgrims came to Dohad, and thence to Kukshi, a place inhabited chiefly by Vaishnavas. There was an indigent Brahmana in the place who maintained an image of

Laksmi-Janárdan; and Chaitanya became his guest. Having nothing in the house, the Brahman vented his grief and asked Chaitanya why he had chosen to be the guest of such a poor man. Chaitanya told him that Vishnu would supply him the wherewithal to entertain his guest; and presently a Vaishya entered the house with a large supply of provisions and offered it to the deity of the house, saying that he had been told to do so in a dream. Then, seeing Chaitanya, the man said: "This is the person I saw in my dream. He is no other than the deity you worship." From that day the Vaishya became a Vaishnava mendicant, living in a Tulsi grove and speaking to no one.

Leaving Kukshi, they travelled two days through a thick forest and reached Amjhorá, thoroughly exhausted for want of food and drink. Govinda begged a quantity of flour, and Chaitanya prepared some *chapaties*, which they were about to eat when two boys came who had tasted no food for days together. Thereupon, we are told, Chaitanya gave his share to them and remained without food for a third day, eating only some fruit at night. Next day they went to see a remarkable pool, named after Lakshmana, who is said to have formed it by shooting an arrow at a spot surrounded by hills in order to quench the thirst of Sita at a place destitute of water. Bathing in the cool waters of the pool, they ascended the Vindiyas and gradually reached Mandurá, where, in a cave, lived a remarkable Sannyási. After Chaitanya had visited him, they descended and came to the city of Mandala, with the Nurmada on the right and the Vindiya on the left. Thence, in three days, they reached Deoghar, where Chaitanya cured a rich merchant, a pious Vaishnava, who had been smitten with leprosy. Sixty miles from this place was the city of Siváni, with Mount Mahala on the east, after visiting which Chaitanya proceeded to Chandipore, where there was a temple dedicated to its guardian deity, Chandi. After resting at Ráyapore the travellers at last reached Vidyánagara, where Rámánanda came to see Chaitanya and they embraced each other. But there was a temporary disappointment. Rámánanda wanted to be left behind for some time longer and Chaitanya had to go on to Puri without him.

Leaving Vidyánagara, the pilgrims reached Sambalpore in the morning, and staid there for the night. Ten miles from Sambalpore is Bhramara, a place which was inhabited chiefly by men of the Vaishnava sect, with Vishurudra as their leader. After holding a long and interesting conversation with him, Chaitanya left the place for Pratápnagore, and thence went to Dáspál. On reaching Rasálkunda, the pilgrims paid their respect to the Tortoise incarnation of Vishnu. Finding the people of the place indifferent to spiritual matters, Chaitanya

remained there for three days and induced many of them to reform their lives. Among these was the son of a Hindusthani Brahmana whose father, on hearing that his son had been spoiled by a mendicant, came with a club to strike Chaitanya. "You are a rogue," he said, "you have made my son a Vaishnava, and you want to take him away from me." In reply Chaitanya said: "If you wish to strike me, take the name of Hari; strike me as many times as you like, but each time take the name of Hari. Here I offer my back to your club." The Brahman was overpowered by reverence for Chaitanya and became a sincere supporter of Vaishnavism.

Leaving Rasālkunda, Chaitanya reached the river Rishikulyā, on both banks of which a large number of Rishis had taken up their abode. The news of his arrival there was soon conveyed to Puri; and, when he reached Alálnáth, his followers flocked to see him. They formed an immense procession to convey him to Puri; and, in the midst of loud *Kirttan*, he reached that place on the third day of Mágha.

His passion for *Kirttan* grew more and more intense and he fell into an ecstasy more frequently than ever. On one occasion, he ran to embrace Mahá Vishnu, or the image of Jagannáth; but his feet struck against the door frame, and he fell flat on the floor. From that day his friends would not allow him to enter the sanctuary, and he used to pay his homage standing outside and resting his hand on the monolith pillar with an image of Garuda on the top.

He never accepted the Rájá's invitation to the palace, but his Majesty used often to come to pay his respects to Chaitanya at the house of Kási Misra. The Rájá was Pratapa Rudra of the Ganga Vansa, who was greatly feared and respected by the Musalman kings in the neighbourhood.

Govinda was not allowed to remain long with his master; but was sent with a letter to Advaita, at Sántipore.. Chaitanya asked him to fetch the old man from Sántipore, and doubtless he accomplished his errand and returned; but his diary comes to a close here, and we take leave of our readers for the present.

ART. X.—LIFE OF TENNYSON.

IT is now rather more than five years since Alfred Tennyson, the greatest poet of the present century, and one of the greatest English poets of all time, passed away from amongst us. During the interval that has elapsed since his death, his son, the present Lord Tennyson, has been engaged in writing the life of his father, and the result of his labours, which appeared in the life of Tennyson, * published towards the close of last year, must rank as the most notable book of the year, not only from the interest of the subject, but from the able manner in which it is written. The mass of work which such a biography requires is shown by the fact which the biographer tells us, that more than forty thousand letters had to be examined and selected from for the purpose.

To all lovers of Tennyson he will ever live in his poems ; and in his poems we find the impress of his own personal life more clearly marked than is, perhaps, the case in the works of any other poet. Tennyson disliked the idea of any long formal biography ; for

“None can truly write his single day

And none can write it for him upon earth.”

He wrote his own literary history in “Merlin and the Gleam”—giving the high ideal that he followed throughout his work, alike through the sunshine of early success, and the short period of adverse criticism which followed it, to be succeeded by his final and prolonged triumph. His son writes :

“He thought that ‘Merlin and the Gleam’ would probably be enough biography for those friends who urged him to write about himself. However, this has not been their verdict, and I have tried to do what he said I might do, and have endeavoured to give briefly something of what people naturally wish to know, something about his birth, homes, school, college, friendships, travels, and the leading events of his life, enough to present the sort of insight into his history and pursuits which one wants, if one desires to make a companion of a man. The picture of his early days has been sketched from what he and my mother have told me. My difficulty in arranging the later chapters has been how to choose, and how to throw aside from the mass of material.”

Tennyson was born on the 6th of August, 1809, and was the fourth of twelve brothers and sisters. He came of an old family ; but his father, who was the eldest son, had been disinherited in favour of his younger brother, by a caprice of

* Alfred Lord Tennyson, A Memoir, by his Son. 2 Vols. Macmillan and Co.

his father's. He therefore entered the church and was given the living of Somersby in Lincolnshire, as well as certain other preferments ; for those were the days of pluralities.

He was a man of considerable ability, but with no real calling for the ministry, and the sense of his father's injustice in having disinherited him preyed upon his nerves and caused him to be, at times, very despondent. He was in many respects a stern parent, but took great trouble in teaching his sons, and, no doubt, the children profited by the dominating force of their father's intellect. His mother was an extremely gentle woman. Tennyson has left us a description of her in the poem of "Isabel." She had been a renowned beauty, and is said to have had twenty-five offers of marriage. From her Tennyson inherited his love of animals, which, in his boyish days, used to show itself in his springing the traps of all the neighbouring game-keepers. Tennyson came of a family of poets, and may be almost said to have "lisp'd in numbers." At the age of twelve he wrote an epic of six thousand lines in the style of Walter Scott, and at fourteen, he wrote a drama in blank verse. These early productions have been destroyed ; but, speaking of them in later life, Tennyson said : "It seems to me that I wrote them all in perfect metre."

It is difficult to say to what extent a man of genius is influenced by his surroundings ; but that they do influence him and leave their impress on the formation of his character, there is no doubt. Thus to the old wych-elms, larches and sycamores round the lawn at Somersby must, doubtless, be traced the love Tennyson always had for trees, and the frequent reference to them in his poems, while his early summers spent at Mablethorpe, a village on the Lincolnshire coast, gave birth to his love for the sea, and especially for the North Sea in wild weather, with "The hollow ocean-ridges roaring into cataracts." He has left us a description of the Somersby garden and brook in his "Ode to Memory," also of the Somersby stream in "Flow down, Rivulet, to the sea." The poem of "The Brook" does not, as many have supposed, describe this stream, but a purely imaginary rivulet. In the same manner Tennyson tells us that "The Moated Grange" is an imaginary farm, and not, as some have supposed, Baumber's farm at Somersby ; nor is Baumber the original of the Northern Farmer.

At the age of seven Tennyson was sent to school at Louth, where he lived with his grandmother. The Head Master, the Rev. J. Waite, was "a tempestuous, flogging master of the old stamp," and Tennyson appears to have had a hard time there. Speaking of it in later years, Tennyson said : "How I did hate that school ! The only good I ever got from it was the memory of the words 'sonus desilientis aquæ,' and of an old

wall covered with wild weeds opposite the school windows." In 1820, when he was about eleven years old, he left Louth and came home to work under his father. In 1827, when he was between fifteen and seventeen, and his brother Charles between sixteen and eighteen, they wrote "Poems by two Brothers," which was published by Jackson of Louth, and for which they received £20, though more than half of the amount had to be taken in books out of Jackson's shop.

In February, 1828, he and his brother Charles matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where his elder brother Frederick was already a distinguished scholar. He was at once recognised by his contemporaries at College as a striking character and a genius, and one of his friends gives this description of his appearance at that time: "Six feet high, broad-chested, strong-limbed, his face Shakesperian, with deep eyelids, his forehead ample, crowned with dark wavy hair, his head finely poised, his hand the admiration of sculptors, long fingers with square tips, soft as a child's but of great size and strength. What struck one most about him was the union of strength with refinement."

His friends at College were all intellectual men. They had among them a society called the "Apostles," of which he was an early member, where politics, philosophy, and the various social questions of the day, were debated. In 1829 Tennyson won the Chancellor's medal for his poem in blank verse on "Timbuctoo." It excited a good deal of notice at the time and was published by Metcalfe in a Collection of Cambridge prize poems, to which Tennyson was much opposed, holding that "Prize Poems are not, properly speaking, 'poems' at all, and ought to be forgotten as soon as recited."

For exercise, Tennyson rowed, or fenced, or took long walks. His first volume, "Poems, chiefly Lyrical," was published in 1830, and met with favourable reviews in the "Westminster," the "Tatler" and "The Englishman's Magazine." "Mariana" and the "Arabian Nights" marked the volume as something out of the ordinary production of verse.

During the summer of 1830 Tennyson, together with Arthur Hallam, went to the Pyrenees with money to assist the insurgent allies of Torrijos, who had raised a revolt against the Inquisition and the tyranny of Ferdinand, King of Spain. They held a secret meeting with the heads of the conspiracy on the Spanish border. The insurrection proved unsuccessful, and Torrijos and the other leaders were ultimately taken prisoners and executed. Though, however, the expedition proved a failure, as regards its immediate object, we are much indebted to it in other ways. Tennyson was deeply impressed by the grandeur of the lonely Pyrenean mountain peaks, and his love for

mountain scenery, which so often appears in his poetry, has its origin from this period. "Cenone" was partly written in the valley of Cauteretz, and he also describes this scenery in "All Along the Valley," written thirty years after.

In February, 1831, Tennyson left Cambridge, his father being somewhat ailing and wishing him to return; so as to help his mother. In the following month his father died.

The Tennysons had not, however, to leave Somersby. By an arrangement with the new Incumbent, they continued to live on at the Rectory, where they remained till 1837. In 1832 Tennyson published his second book of poems. Among the poems in this volume were "The Lady of Shallot" (so called from an Italian Novelette "Donna di Scalotta"), "Mariana in the South," "The Miller's Daughter," "The Dream of Fair Women," "The May Queen," and "To James Spedding." He had originally intended to publish the "Lovers' Tale" in this volume, but did not do so, considering that, although it might tend to make him popular, it was too full of faults.

The idea of "Mariana in the South" came to Tennyson while travelling between Narbonne and Perpignan, and its correctness as a representation of Southern France has been found out and appreciated by foreign critics. From the "Palace of Art" Tennyson omitted several stanzas because he thought that the poem was too full. A favourite adage of his was "The artist is known by his self-limitation." Tennyson said that "The Palace of Art" is the embodiment of my own belief that the God-like life is with man and for man; that

"Beauty, Good and Knowledge are three sisters
That never can be sundered without tears."

About this time a current of depreciation of Tennyson's work set in, in certain literary quarters. But "he kept up his courage, profited by friendly and unfriendly criticism, and in silence, obscurity and solitude perfected his art."

The one fault of Tennyson's poetry up to this time was "the tendency arising from the fulness of a mind which had not yet learned to master its resources freely, to overcrowd his composition with imagery," but in this respect a great change took place during the next decade. In September, 1833, Tennyson's greatest friend, Arthur Hallam, died suddenly at Vienna. The body was afterwards brought over to England and buried in Clevedon Church, in Somersetshire. Tennyson was deeply affected at his death; for Hallam was his most intimate friend, while his sister Emily, to whom Hallam was engaged, was so affected by the shock, that she was ill for many months and very slowly recovered. Tennyson's scrap book contains, about this time, some fragmentary lines, which proved to be the germ of "In Memoriam." "The Two Voices" was begun, also, while

Tennyson was suffering from the effects of this sorrow, which, for a while, "blotted out all joy from his life and made him long for death." After an interval, however, Tennyson continued to work on quietly. He was a severe critic of his own work, and, in his own words, "hundreds of lines were blown up the chimney with his pipe smoke, or were written down and thrown into the fire as not being perfect enough." Even "The Brook," in later years, was rescued from the waste paper heap!

In 1836 his brother Charles married Louisa Sellwood, the sister of Tennyson's future wife, who, being one of the bridesmaids, was taken into the church by Tennyson. He had occasionally met her before and admired her, but on this occasion she seemed to him even more beautiful.

"O happy bridesmaid, make a happy bride!"
And all at once a pleasant truth I learn'd,
For, while the tender service made thee weep,
I loved thee for the tear thou couldst not hide,
And prest thy hand, and knew the press return'd.

In 1837 the Tennysons had to leave Somersby. They moved to High Beech in Epping Forest, where they lived till 1840, after which they moved to Tunbridge Wells. Tennyson liked the nearness to London, as it enabled him to see his old college friends.

It was here that he worked at his 1842 volume of poems. In 1837 he visited the Lake country, and in 1838 Torquay, where he wrote his "Audley Court." Speaking of this time, Tennyson said: "I felt certain of one point then; if I meant to make any mark at all, it must be by shortness, for the men before me had been so diffuse, and most of the big things except "King Arthur" had been done.

Tennyson's mother did not like Tunbridge Wells; so they moved to Bloxley, not far from Maidstone, so as to be near the Lushington's, at Park House, Edmund Lushington having married Tennyson's sister, Cecilia. It is the park round their house that is described in the prologue to "The Princess." At Park House Tennyson met many friends, old and new, and continued to visit his friends in town. He was a member of the Sterling Club Literary Society, named after his friend Sterling, where he met many of his old fellow "Apostles." The portrait of him drawn by Carlyle for Emerson in America describes him at this period as "One of the finest looking men in the world. A great shock of rough, dusky dark hair; bright, laughing hazel eyes; massive aquiline face, most massive yet most delicate; of sallow brown complexion, almost Indian looking, clothes cynically loose, free and easy, smokes infinite tobacco. His voice is musical, metallic, fit for loud laughter and piercing wail, and all that may lie between; speech and speculation free and plenteous; I do not meet in these late decades such company over a pipe! we shall see what he will grow to."

When the 1842 volumes were published, the literary world in London accepted them at once, and they were equally welcomed on the other side of the Atlantic. Tennyson's comprehension of human life had grown since his 1832 volume, and the new poems dealt with an extraordinarily wide range of subjects, appealing to all.

Among these new poems were : "The Gardener's Daughter," "Dora," "Audley Court," "Walking to the Mail," "The Talking Oak," "Locksley Hall," "Godiva," "Edward Gray," "Lady Clare," "The Lord of Burleigh," "Will Waterproof," and the conclusion of "The May Queen," besides more general poems "Morte d'Arthur," "St. Simeon Stylites," "Love and Duty," "Ulysses," "The Two Voices," "Sir Galahad," "Sir Lancelot and Queen Guinevere" and others.

"Locksley Hall" is an imaginary place, though on the coast of Lincolnshire, and the hero is also a purely imaginary character. "Audley Court" was partly suggested by Abbey Park at Torquay, which, in the old days, was the loveliest sea village in England. Several of Tennyson's friends have written their reminiscences of him about this time, but space forbids us to enter upon them here.

In 1844 Tennyson lost some money invested in a wood-carving business of a Dr. Allen, and this left him for a time in a position of real hardship, and he had to further defer his marriage. For a time he was so affected by hypochondria that his friends despaired of his life.

In 1845, however, he was put on the civil pension list by Peel and granted a pension of £200 a year. This pension was not in any way solicited by Tennyson, and he was for a time doubtful whether he should accept it, fearing that it might fetter his freedom of expression, but did so on receiving an assurance that such would not be the case. Lytton attacked Tennyson for accepting this pension, on the unfounded assumption that he was already well off; and, in reply to his verses, Tennyson wrote the only thing that he ever wrote against anyone, and even that was published not by himself, but by a friend.

In 1847 "The Princess," written mostly in Lincoln's Inn Fields, was published, and "The Golden Year" was also added to the *Poems*.

We have not space to refer to "The Princess" in detail, but the various characters in the poem give all possible views of women's higher education. Tennyson considered that this poem contained some of the best blank verse he ever wrote. He considered the lines :

"Come down, O Maid, from yonder mountain heights,"

written chiefly at Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, and descriptive of the waste Alpine heights and the rich valleys below, as amongst his most successful work.

Of the songs, "Tears, idle Tears" was written at Tintern Abbey, and "Blow, Bugle, Blow" amidst the echoes of Killarney.

In 1846, the Tennysons moved to Cheltenham, but, though he made a few friends there, Tennyson never joined in the society of the place. Here, in a little room at the top of the house, he continued steadily at his work. Tennyson frequently went up to town to see his friends, and about this time made the acquaintance of Thackeray, whom he came to know very well.

In 1848, Tennyson made a tour through Cornwall, when he thought of again taking up the subject of Arthur. In 1849, on the invitation of Aubrey de Vere, Tennyson paid his second visit to Ireland, and worked on a new edition of "The Princess."

In 1850, appeared "In Memoriam." It is dreadful to think how near the manuscript of this poem came to being lost before its publication. Happening to want it, to read some of the "Elegies" to a friend, and being unable to find it, he had "some obscure remembrance" of having lent it to Mr. Coventry Patmore, and wrote to him for it, or, in case it had not been lent to him, asking him to go to Tennyson's old chambers in town and to institute a vigorous enquiry for it. Not having it himself, Mr. Patmore went to a lodging where Tennyson had been staying for a time in town some two or three weeks before.

The landlady insisted that no such book had been left there ; but Mr. Patmore insisted on looking for it himself and found it left in a closet where Tennyson used to keep some of his provisions.

At first the reviews were not altogether sympathetic ; but men like Maurice and Robertson thought that the author "had made a definite step towards the unification of the highest religion and philosophy with the progressive science of the day." Mr. Gladstone also reviewed the poem very ably and appreciatively. "It must be remembered," writes Tennyson, "that this is a poem, not an actual biography. It is founded on our friendship, on the engagement of Arthur Hallam to my sister, on his sudden death at Vienna, just before the time fixed for their marriage, and on his burial at Clevedon Church. The poem concludes with the marriage of my youngest sister, Cecilia. It was meant to be a kind of *Divina Commedia* ending with happiness. The sections were written at many different places, and as the phases of our intercourse came to my memory and suggested them. I did not write them with any view to weaving them into a whole, or for publication, until I found that I had written so many. The different moods of sorrow, as in a drama, are dramatically given, and my con-

viction that fear, doubts, and suffering will find answer and relief only through Faith in a God of Love. 'I' is not always the author speaking of himself, but the voice of the human race speaking through him."

In his poem, "By an Evolutionist," written in 1888, when he was dangerously ill, Tennyson has still further defined his views on the subject of science and faith. The publication of "In Memoriam" brought Tennyson a small royalty, and he decided that he was now in a position to marry, and, after ten years of waiting, he was married at Shiplake on Thames, on the 13th June, 1850. His wife was a charming woman and possessed an uncommon intellect. She became his adviser in literary matters, and he discussed with her whatever he was working at. She transcribed his poems, and to her and to no one else, he referred for a final criticism before publishing.

In November, 1850, Tennyson was appointed Poet Laureate, owing chiefly to Prince Albert's admiration for "In Memoriam."

In 1852, the Duke of Wellington died, and Tennyson's Ode was published on the morning of the funeral. It was abused in all directions by the Press; but those better able to judge at once discovered its real worth.

In November, 1853, Tennyson moved to Farringford, which continued to be his home for forty years, and where some of his best known works were written.

In 1855, appeared "Maud and other Poems." This volume contained, amongst other poems, "The Brook," "The Daisy," "The Ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington," and "The Charge of the Light Brigade," which two latter had been already published.

In *Maud*, a monodramatic lyric, Tennyson had essayed a new form of poetry. Tennyson has himself noted that "The peculiarity of this poem is that different phases of passion in one person take the place of different characters." The poem was much misunderstood at the time. The critics confused the hero with the author and attributed to Tennyson the sentiments which he put into the mouth of the despondent, morbid lover.

In 1859, appeared the first edition of "Idylls of the King," which contained the first four of the Idylls. Tennyson had long had the main scheme of the "Idylls" before him. The incident of the Morte d'Arthur had been published in the 1842 volume of poems. In 1856, while staying with Lord Ashburton, he took up the work again with "Merlin and Vivien," and in the "Forest of Broceliande" we find many reminiscences of the New Forest, which was close at hand. He then commenced "Enid and Geraint."

They were at once appreciated both in England and in

America. Writing to a friend at the time, Longfellow says : "The Idylls of the King" are a brilliant success ; rich tapestries, wrought as only Tennyson could have done them, and worthy to hang by the *Faerie Queen*. I believe there is no discordant voice on this side of the water."

So great was the success of these first four Idylls that Tennyson's friends urged him to continue the epic, and both Macaulay and the Duke of Argyll urged him to take as his next subject the Holy Grail. This latter, however, he was unwilling then to do, fearing that any treatment of the subject might appear profane.

A New Edition of the Idylls appeared in 1862, with the "Dedication" to the Prince Consort added. It was at this time that Tennyson paid his first visit to the Queen, and a warm friendship existed ever afterwards between Her Majesty and the Poet. "Next to the Bible," said the Queen, 'In Memoriam' is my comfort.

Tennyson finished "Enoch Arden" in 1862, though it was not published till 1864. This volume also contained "Aylmers Field," "The Grandmother," "Sea Dreams," "The Northern Farmer," "Tithonus," "The Sailor Boy," "The Flower," "Welcome to Alexandra" and the "Dedication." In the same year Garibaldi paid Tennyson a visit at Farringford. Tennyson had a great admiration for Garibaldi and wrote of him to the Duke of Argyll : "I expected to see a hero, and I was not disappointed."

In 1868, Tennyson purchased a piece of land near Haslemere, where he built himself another house, because his wife had always loved the sandy soil and heather-scented air of the downs, and also that they might "escape when the cockneys are running over my lawns at Freshwater."

In 1869, Tennyson published "The Holy Grail." The volume also contained "Lucretius," "The Coming of Arthur," "Peleas and Etarre," "The Passing of Arthur," "Northern Farmer (new style)," "The Golden Supper," "Wages," "The Higher Pantheism" and "Flower in the Crannied Wall." This book was received with the greatest enthusiasm in America, and every post brought him innumerable letters from that country.

Certain critics objected to the moral significance of the "Idylls" and raised the cry of "Art for Art's Sake." In 1872 Tennyson published "Gareth and Lynette" and also the Library Edition of his poems, in which also appeared "The Bridesmaid," "The Third of February 1852," "Literary Squabbles," "On a Spiteful Letter," and the "Epilogue" to the Idylls. He was asked to publish his vigorous reply to the attack made on him by Lytton Bulwer in 1847, but Tennyson's generous nature would not

agree to this, and he refused, saying: "Let those wretched literary squabbles be forgotten."

Tennyson thought that he had now completed the cycle of the *Idylls*, but afterwards thought that some introduction was required to "Merlin and Vivien," and consequently wrote "Balin and Balan" to supply this. Though the "*Idylls*" are chiefly based on Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and on the poet's own imagination, "he has made the old legends his own, restored the idealism, and infused into them an ethical significance, setting his characters in a rich and varied landscape; as, indeed, otherwise these archaic stories would not have appealed to the modern world at large." There is an allegory running through the poem, yet there is no single fact or incident in the story that cannot be explained without any reference to allegory. As regards the many meanings of the poem, Tennyson said: "Poetry is like shot-silk with many glancing colours. Every reader must find his own interpretation according to his ability and according to his sympathy with the poet."

Dean Alford finds in this epic "the conflict continually maintained between the spirit and the flesh," which is, no doubt, one of the meanings which it will bear.

In 1873 Tennyson was offered a baronetcy, but declined it, preferring to retain his own simple name, though he was willing to accept the honour of such a title bestowed on his son, if the substitution were possible.

In 1875 he published "*Queen Mary*," the first of his "historical trilogy" of plays, which, he notes, "pours the making of England." "*Harold*" represents the struggle between the Danes, Saxons and Normans for supremacy—the awakening of the English people and clergy.

In "*Becket*" we have the struggle between the Crown and Church for predominance, a struggle that continued throughout the Middle Ages, and in "*Mary*" the final downfall of Catholicism, and the dawning of a new age which led to individual liberty.

"*Harold*" was published in 1876. "*Becket*," although the first proofs were printed in 1879, was not published till 1884.

Irving considered that, as adapted by himself to the stage, "*Becket*" was one of the three most successful plays produced by him at the Lyceum, and wrote to Tennyson: "'Becket' is a finer play than 'King John'."

In 1877 Tennyson wrote "*Montenegro*," which he considered the best of his sonnets.

In 1879 "*The Falcon*" was produced by Mr. and Mrs. Kendal at the St. James' Theatre and was well received.

In 1880 Tennyson wrote his "*Frater Ave atque Vale*" at

Sirmio, and published his "Ballads and Poems." In this volume appeared "The First Quarrel," which was founded on an Isle of Wight story, and "Rizpah," which was suggested by an incident in a penny Magazine called "Old Brighton," "The Northern Cobbler" was founded on fact, the story having been told to Tennyson many years before. "The Sisters" was also founded on a story known to him, and "The Children's Hospital" was a true story told him by Mary Gladstone.

The lines "To Dante" were originally written in 1865, as Tennyson could not himself go to the Dante centenary, and so were recited there for him by Milnes. Tennyson had entirely forgotten having written them, and they were only brought to mind as the result of a casual conversation with Canon Warburton, who wrote them out for him as far as he remembered, and the original version afterwards came back to Tennyson's memory. He completed "The Cup" in 1880, and it was played at the Lyceum to crowded houses.

In 1882 he recast "Hands all round," which he had written in 1852, into a patriotic song. The "Good Templars" were offended at the allusion to "Drink a health;" but, as Tennyson pointed out to them, the common cup has always been a symbol of unity, and in that sense it was used. This year "The Promise of May" was produced, but was not successful, and only ran for three weeks. The reason was that the public misunderstood the play and thought it was intended for an attack on socialism, which, needless to say, it is not. The impression might have been removed and the play made a great success, if it had been slightly altered to adapt it to the stage.

In the autumn of 1883 Tennyson was offered the peerage, which he at first felt inclined to refuse, as he regretted to give up his simple name, though ultimately he accepted it at the advice of Mr. Gladstone, and also because he considered that it was an honour done to literature in his name.

"Vastness," one of the most remarkable of his later poems, was published in 1885, and "*Tiresias and other Poems*" appeared at the end of the year. Fitzgerald, to whom the volume was dedicated, died shortly before its publication, and so never saw the poem dedicating the volume to him.

Of the other poems which appeared in this volume, "The Ancient Sage" was, as Tennyson has told us, of a personal character, the passages about "Faith" and "The Passion of the Past" being his own personal feelings on those points.

"To Virgil" was written, at the request of the Mauntuns, for the nineteenth centenary of Virgil's death.

"To-morrow" was founded on an Irish story told him by Aubrey de Vere, and "The Epilogue" of "The Charge of the Heavy Brigade" on a conversation with Miss Laura Tenant.

Tennyson was offended at the way in which those who did not know him accused him of loving war, so he wrote the lines :—

" And who loves War for War's own sake
Is fool, or crazed, or worse."

In 1886 Tennyson lost his son, Lionel, who had come on a visit to India, at the invitation of Lord Dufferin. He had lately obtained an appointment in the India Office, and wished to visit the country and make himself personally acquainted with it. He caught jungle fever while shooting in Assam, fell ill on his return to Calcutta, and died on the voyage home. His death was a heavy blow to Tennyson, who was then in his seventy-seventh year, but his friends were struck "by his patience under sorrow, and by his unselfish thoughtfulness for others."

In December, "The Promise of May" and "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After" were published. Locksley Hall is a dramatic poem in which the characters are imaginary, and not as some have supposed biographical in its nature. Tennyson wrote of it: "There is not one touch of biography in it from beginning to end."

In 1888 Tennyson's health became very bad; but he wrote his poem "By an Evolutionist" between his attacks, and later on he went for a long cruise in Lord Brassey's yacht, the Sunbeam, which did much to restore his strength.

In 1889 appeared *Demeter and other Poems*, a wonderful production for a man of eighty years, full of vigour, rhythm and strength.

"The Ring" was founded on a legend, told Tennyson by Russel Lowell, of a house near which he had lived. "Far, Far, Away" and "The Oak" were the two poems which he liked best in this volume. Of "Crossing the Bar," Tennyson said: "It came in a moment." It was his desire, expressed shortly before his death, that this poem should be at the end of all editions of his poems. Tennyson's last collection of poems was published in the latter part of 1892, and contained "The Death of Cænone," "Akbar's Dream," "The Church Warden" and other poems. Tennyson thought the "Hymn to the Sun" and "Spirit nearing yon Dark Portal" the best of the smaller poems in this volume. The last poem he finished was "Whirl and Follow the Sun."

On Thursday, the 6th of October, Tennyson breathed his last. His placid death, with the moonlight streaming in through the oriel window upon the majestic form and features, while his hand rested upon the Shakespeare that he had been reading, calls to mind his own description of the grand and silent "Passing of Arthur." He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his funeral evoked an outburst of popular feeling and sympathy such as had not been the case at the death of any great man

since that of the Duke of Wellington. So passed away the greatest poet of this century, and one of the greatest poets of all time.

Froude says of him : " In my estimate he stands and will stand far away, by the side of Shakespeare, above all other English Poets." He was a consummate master in every form of poetry, and as a poet of Nature stands, we venture to think, ahead of any other poet. His love of Nature is shown especially in his similes and metaphors. In reference to this power, Gladstone * writes : " With regard to this particular and very critical gift it seems to us that he may challenge comparison with almost any poet either of ancient or modern times."

The sea, in all its varying moods, mountains and streams, trees and rural nature of every kind have been endued by him with a life and spirituality which no other poet has been able to achieve. Space forbids us to quote the many instances that rush into one's mind, nor is it necessary ; for every reader of Tennyson will at once recall numerous examples of what we have said above, for himself. There is no other poet who has maintained such a uniformly high standard of excellence throughout his work. There are no valleys. It is a lofty tableland, from which rise towering peaks of unsurpassed magnificence.

His private life and noble character were worthy of his greatness as a poet ; but, although his biography has conferred on us a priceless boon, by putting us in a similar position to those who had the privilege of knowing him, it is in his poetry that he will ever live with us. Not as one of the noblest figures of this century ; as a man of the widest knowledge—Thackeray called him " the wisest man he knew "— ; as the esteemed friend of Royalty, and of all the greatest men in every department of Art, science and learning, will Tennyson be remembered, but as the poet, like Shakespeare, beside whom he is worthy to rank, " not of an age, but for all time."

* Gladstone's *Gleanings*, Vol II p. 159.

THE QUARTER.

THE sedition legislation of the Government of India ; the renewed operations on the North-West Frontier and the negotiations with the Afridis; the alarming further development of the Plague in Bombay and the Dekkan, and the serious riot of which it has been the occasion in the former place; the trial of Chapekar in connexion with the recent assassinations at Poona, and the continued stringency in the money market, are the matters that have chiefly occupied public attention in India since the date of our last number ; while, as far as general politics are concerned, the most noteworthy features of the period have been the trial of Zola in Paris and the crisis in the Far East, which seems, within the last few days, to have again entered on an acute phase.

With a single modification of small importance, the Indian Penal Code Amendment Bill was passed by the Viceregal Legislative Council, on the 18th February, in the form in which it left the hands of the Select Committee. That body, while they made several alterations of greater or less moment in the details of the Bill, left it, in the most vital respect, practically unchanged. In the description of the offence, in Section 124A, they inserted the words "established by law in British India," after the word, "Government," and they reduced the maximum term of imprisonment prescribed for the offence from ten to three years. At the same time, they excluded from the section the offence of promoting, or attempting to promote, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and provided for it by a new Section 153A, by which the maximum punishment is fixed at two years, with fine. In other respects they left this part of the section unaltered. From the new explanation (1), however, they omitted the words, "or ill-will ;" they made certain verbal alterations in the new explanation (2), and they added a third new explanation, which runs : "Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting, or attempting to excite, hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section."

The most important of the changes thus effected in the law consist in the facts that the bringing of Her Majesty or the Government into hatred or contempt has been expressly included among the acts constituting the offence described

in the section, and that the protection given to comments on the measures of the Government by the explanation appended to the old section, that they were not an offence if made only with the intention of exciting such disapprobation as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government, and to support the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, has been taken away. The new explanations (2) and (3) are obviously entirely nugatory, except so far as they are calculated to operate as a distinct affirmation of the above facts. The degree of hatred or contempt contemplated by the section being undefined, the terms are left to be interpreted in their widest sense ; and, as there is always more or less risk of adverse criticism, if it is strong, arousing some degree of such feelings, all such criticism of the Government or its measures will, at least in theory, bring its author within the danger of the law.

The more important of the other changes in the Code are those made by the new Section 153 A already referred to and by the amendment of Section 505. The former makes promoting, or attempting to promote, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects an offence punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both, while, at the same time, it is explained that it does not amount to an offence within the meaning of the section to point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. By making the promoting of ill-will between classes an offence, irrespectively of intent to disturb public tranquillity, the new section, as is pointed out by Mr. J. Chaudhuri, in his work on the measure, "makes perfectly legal acts, such as writing, speaking or preaching, an offence, not from any criminal intent in the mind of the writer or speaker, but by the effect they may produce in the minds of the reader or of the listener."

Similarly the section which has been substituted for Section 505 of the Code, makes intention or guilty knowledge on the part of the person publishing or circulating statements, rumours or reports of the kind described in it, immaterial, except in so far as it provides that intention is necessary to constitute the act an offence in cases in which the person making, publishing or circulating the statement, rumour or report has reasonable ground for believing it to be true.

Opportunity has been taken of the Criminal Procedure

Code Amendment Bill, which was passed by the Council on the 12th instant, to make two important changes in the adjective law relating to sedition and to the dissemination of defamatory matter, or matter, the publication of which is made punishable by Section 153A of the Penal Code above referred to. One of these is an amendment of Schedule II of the Code, making cases under Section 124A of the Penal Code triable by Presidency and District Magistrates, as well as by Courts of Session and High Courts, as under the old Code; and the other is the insertion of a Clause empowering any Chief Presidency or District Magistrate, or Presidency Magistrate or Magistrate of the first class, whenever he has information that there is within the limits of his jurisdiction any person who, *within or without such limits*, either orally or in writing, disseminates, or in any wise abets the dissemination of, seditious matter, or matter the publication of which is punishable under Section 153A of the Penal Code, or matter concerning a Judge which amounts to criminal intimidation or defamation, to require such person to show cause why he should not be ordered to execute a bond, with or without sureties, for his good behaviour for a period not exceeding one year. To the latter clause, however, a proviso was added by the Council, on the motion of Sir Griffith Evans, to the effect that no proceedings shall be taken under it against the editor, proprietor or publisher of any publication registered under, or printed or published in conformity with, the rules laid down in the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, except by the order, or under the authority, of the Governor-General in Council, or the Local Government, or some officer empowered by the Governor-General in Council in this behalf.

Several amendments have also been made in the general clauses of the Code which are calculated seriously to impair previously existing guarantees for the administration of impartial justice, but which we have not the space to discuss here. Strong representations against the more objectionable features of both Bills were submitted to the Government by the Calcutta Bar, the Anglo-Indian and European Defence Association and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the British Indian Association and various other public bodies in the Bengal Presidency and elsewhere, but with little or no avail, and a Resolution moved by Mr. Roberts in the House of Commons, in the shape of an amendment to the Address, deploring the legislation, was rejected by a majority of 182 to 109. In this amendment, however, the subject was mixed up with the questions of the imprisonment of the Natus without trial and the recent Press prosecutions.

Since the retirement from Tirah, active operations on the

North-West Frontier have been practically confined to a movement against a body of Afridis in the Bara Valley in the last week of January, which ended in a serious disaster to one of the columns concerned, consisting of the Yorkshire Light Infantry and four companies of the 36th Sikhs, and a successful expedition against the Bunerwals. The object of the former movement seems to have been to surround a number of Afridis who were reported to be grazing cattle on the Kajurai Plain. For this purpose four columns were despatched, two from Ali Musjid and Jamrud, under Generals Hart and Symons, respectively; one from Bara, and the fourth, composed as above detailed, from Mamani. The first three columns carried out the movements assigned them, without loss, and also without accomplishing anything, neither Afridis nor cattle being found; the fourth reached its objective, Shin Kamar, without opposition, but, during its retirement, got entangled in a difficult gorge, and was attacked by the tribesmen who had occupied a ridge commanding the line of retreat, and suffered heavily. The ridge, from which a company of Sikhs who held it had been withdrawn earlier in the day, owing to a misunderstanding, had to be retaken, an operation which was carried out in the face of determined opposition, and at a heavy sacrifice of life; and when the troops finally retired from it, they were followed up by the enemy and lost several men. The casualties on our side were five officers, *viz.*, Lieutenant Colonel Haughton and Lieutenant Turing of the 36th Sikhs, and Lieutenants Dowdall, Hughes and Walker of the Yorkshire Light Infantry, with eighteen men—three of the former and fifteen of the latter regiment—killed; two officers and thirty-three men wounded, and twelve men missing. The troops having been reinforced from Bara, reprisals were subsequently undertaken and heavy loss was inflicted on a body of the enemy.

One result of this contretemps was that Sir William Lockhart, who had arrived in Calcutta from the Frontier, on his way to England, at once returned to the front.

Subsequent negotiations are understood to have led to the submission of most of the Afridis, and, though a section of the Zakka Kheyls and some others have not yet fully complied with our terms, it is believed that they will ultimately yield.

The Frontier policy of the Government was the subject of a warm discussion in the House of Commons on the 14th ultimo, when Sir W. Lawson moved, as an amendment to the Address, a Resolution, expressing disapproval of the permanent military occupation of Chitral and the maintenance and fortification of the road from Peshawar through the territory of independent tribes, deploring the consequences of that policy, and

representing that the safety and prosperity of the Empire would best be promoted by respecting the independence of the Frontier tribes and avoiding the occupation of their territory. In reply Lord George Hamilton denied that recent troubles were due to the Chitral policy of the Government, which, he contended, was necessary to save the country from anarchy. As regards future relations with the tribes, he referred to his Despatch of the 28th January to the Government of India, in which it was laid down that there was to be no interference with their independence, except so far as might be essential for the fulfilment of our obligations.

In the despatch referred to, the Secretary of State, after reviewing the course of the recent disturbances and discussing their causes, proceeds to lay down certain general principles by which the future policy of the Government should be guided, and which in several important particulars imply a complete reversal of the so-called "forward policy."

The following passages from the Despatch contain the most essential of these instructions :—

"The extent and difficulty of this mountainous border render it expedient that posts and cantonments should be limited to those positions only which are indispensable to the fulfilment of the policy just indicated. In my telegram of the 13th of October, I addressed your Excellency as follows:—"You will agree with me that in present circumstances, internal and external, political and financial, no new responsibility should be taken unless absolutely required by actual strategical necessities and the protection of the British Indian border. I also think that the present opportunity should be used for defining our permanent position and policy. Some modifications of existing arrangements, especially with a view to concentration of force, will no doubt be necessary

"The two main objects to be borne in mind were indicated in my telegram of the 13th October, namely, the best possible concentration of your military force so as to enable you to fulfil the several responsibilities to which I have adverted, and the limitation of your interference with the tribes so as to avoid the extension of administrative control over independent tribal territory.

"The experience gained in the past few months has suggested the inference that certain military posts such as Saragari, were not sufficiently defensible, and it is probable that, without altering or diminishing the existing lines of communication, you may wish to modify the past arrangements for their maintenance. In any such modification of existing arrangements I wish to impress upon your Excellency the advisability of establishing regular troops nowhere except in such posts or localities, and under such conditions as will enable them to promptly repel any attacks upon them, and of making the local, or tribal levies assume, as far as

is possible, the aspect of a police, rather than a military, force. It will be necessary, in framing these arrangements, that an estimate of the cost of frontier defence, including charges for tribal services, should be prepared and transmitted to me, since full regard must be had to financial considerations. *It is not sufficient that the measures proposed should be desirable; it is necessary that the gain should be commensurate with the expense.*

"The second principle upon which stress must be laid is the avoidance of any interference with the tribes which can be avoided with due regard to the interests already set forth. It was for this latter reason that, after full consideration I was unable to give my consent to the imposition of tribute upon the Afridis and Orakzais. I recognise the force of the arguments used in favour of such a visible assertion of the responsibilities which you have incurred under the Durand Convention. It is not improbable that the regular payment of even a nominal tribute might strengthen the hands of the tribal leaders, the Maliks, against the teachings of their Mullas and against fanatical outbursts. The fear of an enhancement of the tribute might at times restrain the evil disposed amongst the tribesmen. But on the other hand it is desirable to avoid giving any countenance to the idea that your Government means to administer the tribal country or to inclose it within your provincial limits. Moreover, I apprehend that the imposition of even a nominal tribute might rattle in the minds of the Pathan tribes, furnish disaffected persons with material for imputing to the British Government designs which it does not contemplate, and, above all, might enable the tribes to choose their own time for refusing payment, and thus for openly defying your authority. In such a case the only means of enforcing your demand, besides punitive expeditions and blockades, might be the imposition of direct administrative control, or, in the last resort, annexation of fresh tracts of country. But the extension of your direct administration across the border involves an increase of responsibilities which it has always been our policy to avoid; and annexation would imply a still larger addition to your civil and military establishments, with a very serious and growing burden upon your financial resources.

"The next point to which I adverted in my telegram of the 13th of October, in connection with the subject of protection, was that of disarmament. I approve entirely of the imposition of terms of peace which require a tribe that has resorted to arms to surrender as large a number of arms as may reasonably be demanded. But any attempt to keep the tribal country, or even one section of it, permanently disarmed, involves serious consequences. In the lawless state of society which prevails across the British administrative frontier, a tribe could not exist without the means of defence. Unless we are prepared to wholly undertake their protection against their neighbours, some limit must necessarily be put on their deprivation of the means of self-defence. At the same time, Her Majesty's Government are alive to the importance of the fact disclosed by the recent operations—

that the tribes have access to large quantities of arms of precision and ammunition. To control this traffic in arms and munitions of war is an object of first importance, and I consider that a systematic inquiry as to the sources of supply, whether from your arsenals and factories or by means of illicit importation into India, should be instituted. I have dealt in a separate communication with one part of this subject. I have only to add here that, whenever the trade routes to Afghanistan are re-opened and the export of arms and ammunition for His Highness the Ameer is resumed, special arrangements should be made to keep an account of the class of arms exported, with a view to future identification should occasion arise, and to prevent any of them passing into the hands of the tribes *en route*.

"The maintenance of the Khyber Pass as a safe artery of communication and of trade is an essential measure, whether viewed from the standpoint of your obligations to the Ameer or from that of the protection of British subjects. It may be that, as a military route others may be preferred to this pass, but under any circumstances the retention of an effective control over the Khyber is essential; and accordingly, in your letter of the 4th of October, addressed to General Sir William Lockhart, you desired him to announce to the Afridis your intention to re-open the pass in such manner as you might consider most desirable. I approved of this intimation, and on the 3rd of November I authorised your consideration of any scheme for improving or re-aligning the present road, provided that any changes of importance should be reported to me. I have not yet received your report, but whilst I agree that the arrangements which have hitherto subsisted with the tribesmen have been cancelled by their own violent breach of them, I trust that it may still be possible to give the Afridis some share in your new scheme and thus to enlist their good-will and assistance in the future protection of the road. But I do not consider that your Government is bound in any way by the engagement which the Afridis so deliberately broke. Whilst Her Majesty's Government, therefore, adhere to the general policy of avoiding interference with the independent tribal organisations or with the domestic affairs of the Afridis the safety of the pass must be the paramount consideration in any reconstruction of your arrangements with the tribe.

"The recent outbreak of fanaticism, in response to the propaganda of the Mullahs, has revealed a source of danger deeper-rooted and wider-spread than was suspected, whilst on the other hand the leniency of the terms on submission imposed upon the recalcitrant tribes and the manifest reluctance of your Government to interfere with their independence or customs of self-government, cannot fail to gradually allay any suspicions they might previously have entertained of the intentions of the Indian Government. The immediate difficulty to be dealt with is not so much associated with apprehension of interference from without, as with that of restlessness within the area of our influence. Your Excellency will doubtless give full weight to this change in the

situation, and devote your foremost attention to that portion of the question which has thus prominently asserted itself.

"I desire in conclusion to express high approval of the manner in which your Excellency's Government has met an arduous crisis, and of the success which has attended the various military operations conducted on the North-West frontier under conditions of extreme difficulty, upon which a separate communication will be made to you. Not only was the rising one of unprecedented extent and violence, which, moreover, occurred at the most trying season of the year, but your resources were already taxed to the utmost by the necessity for carrying on at the same time a campaign against widespread famine in India, and for dealing with the plague which had appeared in several parts of the empire. The contingency that frontier disturbances may arise at a time when attention is being devoted to other important affairs must always have a certain weight in balancing the considerations which should determine your policy in that quarter. It adds weight to the conclusion that no new responsibility should be undertaken, unless absolutely required by actual strategical necessities and the protection of the Indian border."

Among the untoward events of the period under review has been a somewhat serious rising of the tribes in Eastern Beluchistan, which, however, has been suppressed in a very masterly way by Colonel Mayne, who, with a comparatively small force, completely defeated the enemy and compelled the surrender of their principal leader.

During the last few weeks the number of fresh plague cases occurring daily in Bombay has approached two hundred, while the average weekly ascertained mortality from the disease has been between a thousand and twelve hundred; there are as yet no signs of the abatement which appears to accompany the hot weather. There has also been an alarming extension of the disease in the North-western portion of the Nizam's territories; and it is spreading, though slowly, in the Hoshiarpur and Jullunder districts of the Panjab. On the other hand, the disease has almost disappeared from Poona.

The immediate occasion of the riot which took place in Bombay on the 9th instant, appears to have been an attempt on the part of the Plague authorities to remove a patient suffering from the disease. But though accident may have determined the moment of the outbreak, there are strong reasons for believing that it was premeditated, great excitement having prevailed for some days previously among the Mahomedan community, owing to dissatisfaction with certain new Plague rules recently issued by the local authorities, especially a rule insisting on examination of the body in cases in which the cause of death was not certified by a qualified medical officer.

Not only were the Plague party, who were accompanied by one of the Presidency Magistrates and a strong body of police, stoned, but Europeans were brutally assaulted, wherever the rioters came across them in the disturbed district, and four, including two unarmed soldiers, were killed, and 15 or 20, the majority of them policemen, more or less seriously injured. The Grant Road and the Mahomedan General Hospitals were attacked and the latter set fire to, by the mob; a screen in front of the jail, erected in connexion with an approaching execution, was burnt, and other damage was done to property; and it was not till troops and guns were brought up that the mobs finally dispersed and order was restored. The riots have been followed by a general strike of dock labourers which still continues, to the great detriment of business, and the closing of many shops owing to pressure put upon the shop-keepers by the Mahomedan malcontents.

At the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council which was held on the 26th February, it was announced by the Lieutenant-Governor that a Bill was under the consideration of the Secretary of State, and would be introduced on his sanction being obtained, to remodel the Municipal constitution of Calcutta. The Bill, His Honour stated, would leave the number and the mode of election and appointment of the Commissioners untouched, but would reform the procedure of election, provide the Corporation with an efficient executive, and interpose a working Committee of twelve, elected and appointed so as to represent the Government, the commercial community and the residents of Calcutta, between the Chairman and the main body of the Commissioners.

"To the Corporation," he said, "is reserved the power of fixing the rate of taxation, of passing the Budget, and of deciding all the large issues which can properly be discussed by a deliberative assembly of 75 members. The Chairman, as in the Bombay Act, is vested with all executive power, to be exercised, as is laid down in each case, either independently or subject to approval or sanction of the Corporation or the General Committee. The General Committee, as the working body of the Municipality, stands between the deliberative and executive authorities, and deals with those matters which by their nature are ill-adapted for discussion by the Corporation, and yet are too important to be left to be disposed of by the Chairman alone. Power is taken for the General Committee to appoint Sub-Committees, on which I hope to see all the real workers among the Commissioners utilised. At the same meeting it was announced that the Bengal Tenancy Bill was to be referred back to the Select Committee to be recast, that an amendment of the Court of Wards Bill would be undertaken, and that

Bills would also be introduced to amend the Excise and Salt Acts, and to extend to the town of Calcutta the provisions of the Police Act, authorising the quartering of additional police in disturbed areas, the recovery of the cost from the inhabitants and the award of compensation to the sufferers.

Parliament was opened on the 8th February. In the course of Her Majesty's speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, it was announced that, owing to intelligence having been received of the Khalifa's intention to advance against the Egyptian army in the Soudan, a contingent of British troops had been despatched to Berber, "to the assistance of the Khedive;" that a treaty of friendship and commerce had been concluded with King Menelik, and that, besides other legislative measures, Bills would be introduced to secure the increased strength and efficiency of the army and amend the present conditions of military service; for the promotion of Local Government in Ireland and for the creation of municipalities in London. It has since been announced that the army estimates provide an increase of 16,946 men, exclusive of India, and an increase of expenditure of £1,600,000.

The treaty concluded with King Menelik defines the limits of Somali-land; gives Great Britain "most favoured nation" treatment, and provides for the free passage of arms to King Menelik through British territory, while the King undertakes to do his utmost to prevent arms and munitions of war from reaching the Dervishes.

The occupation of Kiaochau by the Germans has been followed by the despatch of the Russian Pacific squadron to Port Arthur, where it has anchored, ostensibly for the winter, but really, it is generally believed with ulterior motives of an important character. These proceedings, combined with the opposition offered by Russia to the British loan to China, have aroused a very strong feeling in England and drawn from the Government an emphatic declaration of its determination to insist on equal commercial rights in China for all nations. As a result of representations made by Great Britain on the subject, Germany and Russia have given assurances that any ports which they may acquire in China will be open to the trade of the world.

The negotiations in connexion with the loan which is necessary to enable China to discharge her obligations to Japan—, after being nearly broken off owing to the opposition of Russia, resulted ultimately in an understanding by which half the total amount—of 16 millions—is to be furnished by an English and half by a German Bank. At the same time, China has entered into an agreement with England to open a

treaty port in Hunan within two years ; to admit foreign, as well as native, steamers to all inland waters within four months ; not to alienate any portion of the Yangtze Valley, and to maintain a British Inspector-General of Customs as long as British trade at Chinese ports exceeds that of any other Power. Within the last few days it has been reported that Russia has demanded a lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan for 99 years, under threat of sending an army into Manchuria. It is denied, however, at St. Petersburg, that any coercion is contemplated.

In consequence of the unsatisfactory aspect of affairs in the Far East, the British squadron in Chinese waters has been heavily re-inforced, and is now probably more than a match for the combined squadrons of France and Russia there, while Japan has a powerful fleet in the neighbourhood, which would probably play an important part in any operations that might take place.

Owing to the threatened attack by the Dervishes on the Anglo-Egyptian camp at Atbara, the British brigade detailed for the operations in the Soudan has advanced to that place, where General Kitchener now commands 14,000 men.

Relations between Russia and the Porte have become seriously strained, in consequence of the refusal of the Sultan to accept a proposal of the former power, which, it is understood, was supported by Great Britain and France, but opposed by Germany, that Prince George of Greece should be appointed Governor of Crete. In view of the refusal, Russia has withdrawn her candidate and announced that she repudiates all further responsibility in respect of Crete, and will not allow any increase of the Turkish troops in the island, or coercion of its inhabitants.

The negotiations between France and England regarding their respective spheres of interest in West Africa have so far led to no satisfactory result, and it has lately been reported that a French force has invaded the territory of Sokoto and is advancing on the capital. M. Hanotaux, however, is understood to have stated that, if any such movement has taken place, it is unauthorised by the French Government.

The latest news from British Central Africa is that Major Macdonald has defeated and dispersed the Soudanese mutineers from Uganda.

In the matter of the South African Chartered Company the Government has determined to leave the control of the country in the hands of the Company under strict supervision.

The Irish Local Government Bill, which has been introduced in the House of Commons, has been favourably received by the Liberals and Nationalists ; but great opposition is threa-

tened on both sides of the House, to the Government scheme of Municipalities for London, and it seems not improbable that the measure will be dropped.

Perhaps the most important event that has happened in the United Kingdom during the period under review is the termination of the great strike in the engineering trade by the completed surrender of the men. The direct loss inflicted on the men and their employers by the strike is estimated at some ten millions sterling.

A terrible and wholly unexplained catastrophe has befallen the United States war-ship *Maine*, which suddenly blew up while at anchor in the harbour at Havana, and was completely destroyed, with between two and three hundred of the crew.

The obituary for the Quarter includes the names of Baron Craignish ; General Yeatman-Biggs ; Sir H. Havelock-Allen, V. C. ; Colonel Kalnoky ; Sir E. A. Bond, K.C.B. ; Sir James Talbot Airey, K. C. B. ; Mr. W. J. Linton ; Sir R. Meade ; Mr. Stacy Marks, R. A. ; Mr. Ernest Hart ; Dr. Liddell ; Rev. C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) ; Mrs. Charles Cowden Clarke ; Lieutenant-General Sir F. D. Middleton ; Lord Carlingford ; Sir Daniel Lysons, G. C. B. ; General Sir M. K. Kennedy, K. C. S. I. ; General G. S. Montgomery ; Mr. W. Young, C. S. I., late of the Bengal Civil Service ; the Rev. Dr. W. F. Moulton ; Major General A. A. Munro ; Bishop Selwyn ; the Bishop of Bedford ; the Rt. Hon. Sir James Stansfeld, and Colonel Malleeson, the well-known Anglo-Indian writer.

March 13, 1898.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AKBAR AND THE PARSIS.

TO THE EDITOR

SIR,—In my article on "Akbar and the Parsis" in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. CIV., I had to say of certain passages purporting to be quotations from famous Persian historians of Akbar, put into my hands by some of the present descendant of Meherji Rana, the priest who was falsely alleged to have worked a miracle before that great Moghul emperor, that "this may be dismissed as an instance of interpolation on the part of that Munshi, very likely a forgery by the copyist himself" (p. 96). The person who gave me these passages as authorities for the Meherji Rana legend has since acknowledged that my surmise was right and that these passages were forgeries. The name of the copyist he gave was that of Eruchji Sorabji Meherji, a blind Parsi priest of Naosari, who is still alive. This person had circulated these forged passages, for the last 30 years, without any warning that they were forged. But now the person above referred to, who brought them to me, says that they were forged by a Munshi named Kazi Habi-bulla Khan, of Delhi (*Times of India*, December 18th, 1897). He further stated that the papers which this "Munshi gave to Eruchji are still in his possession, and that the handwriting, etc., leave no doubt that these passages are forgeries, and that Eruchji was innocent of any such trick." I pointed out that it was very unlikely that a Mahomedan Kazi should forge passages in praise of the Parsi religion, and asked this person to produce the evidence, etc., which he said he had, to prove the Kazi's guilt. "The blind old priest of Naosari," I wrote, "is responsible for the currency of those forged passages for more than thirty years. And so long as he does not prove that the Kazi, as is now alleged, or anybody else, is the fabricator of them, he should be held responsible" (*Times of India*) December 22nd, 1897). Three months have now elapsed, but neither this copyist, Eruchji of Naosari, nor the person who brought these passages to me has done anything to prove that the Kazi was the forger of these passages. After their public declaration that they had proofs of the Kazi's guilt, and after an immediate public challenge from me to produce their proofs and exculpate themselves, this silence on their part will be construed in the proper way by the public.

MALABAR HILL,

Bombay, March 1898.

R. P. KARKARIA.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' Series of the India Office Records. Vol. II, 1613-1615. With an Introduction by William Foster, B.A. Published under the Patronage of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, Limited. 1897.

WITH a few exceptions, the letters printed in this handsome volume, which are about 150 in number, belong to the fifteen months between 2nd December, 1613, and the 23rd February, 1615. About half of them are dated from Surat, where the English had recently established a factory through the efforts of Mr. Thomas Aldworthe and Captain Bert, Agra and other places within the dominions of the Emperor Jehangir, and the remainder from Japan and Bantam. "The importance of the first of these three groups," says the Editor in his Introduction, "is certainly commensurate with its bulk; for the period in question was one in which the fate of the English attempt to settle in Western India hung more than once in the balance * * * The Portuguese, in the autumn of 1613, to mark their displeasure at the favourable reception accorded to the English, had seized a native vessel of great value; and Jehangir had thereupon given orders to imprison all the Portuguese in his dominions, and had sent an army under Mukarrab Khan to besiege the city of Damaun. Meanwhile, the handful of Englishmen whom Bert had left behind him under Thomas Aldworthe had been well treated, 'all these people here generally much more affecting us than the Portingals, and showing us kindness in what they may.' (Letter from Thomas Aldworthe and William Bidulph to the East India Company, dated the 19th August, 1614.) Their sales, however, were inconsiderable and their discouragements many. The spring and summer of 1614 passed away without any tidings of the expected fleet from England; the natives began to weary of the hostilities with the Portuguese and the consequent loss of trade, and to doubt whether it were not wiser to yield to the Viceroy's demands and expel the English from the Mogul's territories. At last, however, in October, 1614, Captain Downton reached Swally, 'with four gallant ships,' as Aldworthe wrote joyfully to Keridge * *. The news of their arrival aroused the Portuguese to a supreme effort; and, as soon as he could

collect his entire force, the Viceroy sailed to the north with the intention of first crushing the English intruders and then punishing their native allies. Alarmed at the prospect of an attack upon Surat, Mukarrab Khan demanded the active co-operation of the English vessels. Downton, however, was forbidden by his commission to commence hostilities against the subjects of other Christian powers, and he would therefore undertake nothing unless he were first attacked. Mukarrab Khan was greatly incensed at this and showed his displeasure in many ways, until the approach of the Viceroy's armada warned him not to alienate his own supporters." The ensuing engagement, as is well known, resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Portuguese, to whose gallantry, however, Downton testifies in one of the letters of the series. Meanwhile, one of the ships was sent home from Swally, and factors were despatched to Ahmedabad, Broach, Cambay and other places for indigo and calicoes. William Edwards, the principal of the newly arrived factors, was sent as a "messenger" to the great Mogul, who, as he relates in a letter to Sir Thomas Smith, received him very honourably. About the same time, the question of opening a trade with Persia, with a view, especially, to obtaining a market for broadcloth, of which the factors had a large supply and which was slow of sale in India, came under discussion; and ultimately a factor named Crouther, together with an Englishman, named Steel, who had come from Aleppo in pursuit of a runaway debtor, was despatched to Ispahan, with letters of recommendation to Sir Robert Sherley.

Among events referred to in the group of letters from Japan are a trading expedition to Jeddo, which met with small success; two ventures in country junks, one to Cochin China, in which the factors lost their lives and the junk was wrecked, and the other to Siam, which was unsuccessful, and the expulsion of the Jesuits and persecution of their converts. Besides Surat, Firando and Bantam, other factories "of a more or less temporary character," at Masulipatam, Siam, Patani, Priaman, Tiku, Sukadana, Sambas, Macassar and other places, are mentioned in the letters, which are full of interesting particulars regarding the course of trade, English, Dutch and Native; coins, weights and measures; the difficulties and dangers of a factor's life, and many other matters. With reference to the charge sometimes made against the British Government, of having introduced, or at all events popularised, the use of opium in India, it is interesting to note that in 1614 the Surat factors bought two tons of the drug at the extraordinarily low price of £50 a ton, which would seem to show that, whatever we may or may not have done in the matter, we have made opium dear, and that a factor, writing from Patani, relates how

the Masulipatam bleacher, in order to provide himself with opium, hires out for wear the calicoes entrusted to him and then beats them to pieces in his efforts to make them clean,

Legal Maxims illustrated with special reference to the Laws in force in British India. by P. Sreenivasrow, City Civil Judge and a Fellow of the University of Madras, Madras : Higginbotham and Company, 1897.

THIS is a second Edition of a well known work originally published five and twenty years ago ; and the opportunity of re-publication has been taken to bring it up to date and amplify and improve it in various ways. Nearly three hundred of the most important legal Maxims, gathered from the works of Broom, Wharton and others, are here explained and illustrated with reference to the relation in which they stand to the law in force in this country, as gathered from the rules of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, or embodied in the Statutes, the Regulations and Acts of the Indian legislatures, and the judgments of the Courts. The task which the author has set himself has been carried out with great learning and ability ; and the result is a mine of valuable information regarding not only the general principles, but the practical application of the law. In many cases the maxim explained is made the text of an essay of considerable length on the principle embodied in it. Examples of this copiousness of treatment may be found under the heads of "*ubi jus ibi remedium* ;" "*mentiri est contra mentem ire*," and the maxims relating to occupation. The usefulness of the book is much enhanced by the way in which the maxims have been classified according to the subjects they concern, and the complete lists of maxims and index of subjects which it includes.

A Chapter of Accidents. BY MRS. HUGH FRASER. Macmillan and Company, London.

IN most respects *A Chapter of Accidents* presents a marked contrast with the author's last book *Palladia*—the story is slight, the characters are few and the incidents, though sufficiently exciting, are not sensationally melodramatic. There is no plot to speak of, and the characters are very ordinary persons except when, as in the case of "Harry Surtees," they are extraordinarily selfish and unpleasant. The chief merit of the book consists in the writer's easy and lively style, a certain insight into character and a knack of describing trifling *contretemps* with humour and vivacity.

Christian Missions and Social Progress. Vol. I. By Rev. James Dennis, D. D., Fleming H. Revell Coy. New York.

WE have before us the first volume of "Christian Missions and Social Progress" by the Rev. James S. Dennis, D. D., who may be remembered as the author of 'Foreign Missions after a Century.' The book is based on the Students' Lectures on Missions, which were delivered by the writer at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1896, the subject treated being "The Sociological Aspects of Foreign Missions." These lectures, which were necessarily limited in length, have been re-written and expanded; and a vast deal of new information, the result of much labour in examining the reports and other literature emanating from Missionary Societies all over the world, has been added. It is to be noted that Dr. Dennis, while admitting that much "humanitarian service" has been rendered to mankind by the Roman Catholic, Greek, and other Christian Churches, which would doubtless prove of great general interest, does not extend his survey beyond the limits of the Protestant Missions. Four of the lectures are treated of in this volume: I. "The Sociological Scope of Christian Missions;" II. "The Social evils of the non-Christian world"; III. "Ineffectual Remedies and the Causes of their Failure"; IV. "Christianity the Social Hope of the Nations." The scope of the work is so wide that it is impossible in the space at our command to give more than a mere outline of its contents and to point out its most salient features, as an indication of its value as a text-book for the student of foreign missions. It contains a vast amount of references and notes, which, not being generally accessible in a collated form, will be found specially useful.

"In the present course of lectures," the author says in his Preface, "an effort is made to introduce an argument founded upon contemporary evidence as furnished by the results of Christian missions in our own day. We must bear in mind that these results are in a very undeveloped stage. Christianity as yet touches the age-incrusted and unyielding surface of heathen society only in spots, and has hardly broken its way through to an extent which enables us to recognize fully its power or to discover its transforming tendencies in the non-Christian world. It is sufficiently apparent, however, that a new force of transcendent energy has entered the gateway of the nations and has planted itself with a quiet persistency and staying power in the very centres of the social life of the people. From its modest haunts of church and school, of hospital and asylum, and through its unostentatious instrumentalities of literature, personal example, regenerated home life, and sanctified individual character, it is destined to go forth conquering and to conquer as a potent regenerator of society and the maker of a new civilization."

Dr. Driver has set about his task with a thoroughness that is beyond praise, and the book is a veritable mine of important

and interesting information regarding Protestant missionary enterprise in all quarters of the Globe. The illustrations, which are very numerous, are exceedingly good.

For Prince and People. BY E. K. SANDERS. Macmillan and Company, London.

ITALY, in the sixteenth century, torn asunder by internecine struggles; her cities stained with blood; her nobles steeped to the lips in treachery and crime, and her people groaning under the yoke of successive tyrants, offers a very promising field for the novel writer who is not content to follow in the beaten track, and E. K. Sanders, in *For Prince and People*, has gone to it with good result. The scene of the story is laid in Genoa, at that time a hot-bed of intrigue, oppression and violence. The very air of the city was tainted with moral decay; the walls of her marble palaces, so dazzling in their outward purity were screens for deeds of cruelty which, even in those lawless times, it was deemed prudent to hide beneath a mask of impenetrable secrecy. Murder had reached the dignity of a fine art—scarce a sun set over “*La Superba*” but saw the body of some murdered victim washed out to sea. Messengers sent on delicate missions did not return—inconvenient persons who know more than was good for them disappeared from the sight of men and were forgotten. Unless they belonged to the higher ranks of society, no questions were asked except by their immediate kinsmen—and they received no answer. The writer has handled his materials with great skill and his stirring story furnishes a complete answer to those critics who maintain that no novel wanting in what is called the “love element” can be worth reading. Here we have a tale practically without a heroine although former tender passages are hinted at. Love there is, indeed, but it is the passionate love and devotion of a noble hearted youth for a man in whom he, being simple minded, sees his ideal of a man and a Prince, and for whom he is ready to give his life. That the object of his whole hearted devotion is unworthy of it—is, in fact, like most of his kind, a traitor and an assassin—in no way deprives the hero of the reader’s sympathies. Chivalrous and loyal himself, his faith in his idol,—though rudely shaken at times—never entirely forsakes him, and the last office he renders him is performed at the imminent risk of his life—and that when he can look for no reward—not even the bright smile of thanks he had valued so dearly, but of which death has robbed him. With the assistance of a priest whom he loves and trusts he saves the body of his master from the indignity decreed for it by the victor’s house of the Doria.

That night when the moon was set, two figures stood on the beach beneath the hill of Carignano. A boat was moored near by, rocking softly upon the rippling water. Above them, commanding Genoa, rose the stately towers of the Fieschi palace, so soon to be dismantled stone, by stone, in token of the wrath of Genoa's autocrat; and, at their feet wrapped in a long black cloak, lay the body of its last owner.

Lifting it reverently between them they staggered through the surf and laid it gently down in the boat, and while the younger rowed, the elder prayed for the departed soul of the dead man. Far out they rowed over the calm dark waters, until at length the rower shipped his oars and joined the Priest in prayer, before they lowered the body into the deep.

Thus, in the dead of night, with mourners who performed their office knowing that discovery meant death, with nothing but a soldier's cloak to shroud him, was Gian Luigi Fiesco, proudest of Genoa's nobles, laid in his last resting-place.

It would not be fair either to author or to reader to tell of the boy's great act of renunciation, we can only recommend the latter to read the book for himself. The writer has anticipated the charge of cynicism in the following passage:—

It may be that, as the years brought wisdom, they taught him that he had wasted the loyalty and worship of his youth; but I would rather think that, in the lapse of time, the Fiesco of his memory became once more the hero of his first imaginings, a man of pure ideals and high integrity, grudging no sacrifice for the general good save of his honour. Such a man, had the great love of his life not been denied him, turning his noblest part to bitterness, one may fancy that Fiesco might have been; and though he takes his place among the shadows on the page of histories, we must still believe he was not all unworthy of the love and honour that he won.

The Citizen of India. By W. LEE-WARNER, C.S.I., M.A., Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, Bombay, and Calcutta, 1897.

THE main purpose of this little volume, as the author tells us in his preface, is to place before Indian schoolboys a few simple facts about the land in which they live. It is, in fact, a short account of India, mainly from an administrative point of view, couched in the plainest language and thoroughly up to date. It is, perhaps, of the essence of such a work that it should be more or less dogmatic; but occasionally, it seems to us, Mr. Lee-Warner is so obviously one-sided as to be in danger of defeating his own object. It is to be suspected, for instance, that there are very few Indian schoolboys, of an age to profit by his book, whose faith in his impartiality will not be rudely shaken by the following account of the Home Charges.

Both the gross and the net expenditure mentioned above include charges incurred on account of India in England. These are called home charges, and it would be unnecessary to explain them if there did not exist a strange misunderstanding as to their nature. There is not a factory or a large commercial business in India owned by the natives of India which does not incur similar home charges in the conduct of its affairs. The native states of India, the

state of Afghanistan, and every country in Europe find it to their benefit to buy in Great Britain materials of war, machinery, and other manufactures, for which payment is needed in the coinage of Great Britain at the market rate of exchange. Most of the countries mentioned, all the colonies of the United Kingdom, and a majority of Indian railway or mining companies, have paid agents in London to conduct their business. They also employ the services of British artisans, and many of them are fortunate enough to be able to borrow capital in England upon which they pay annual interest. The home charges of the government of India include stores of all sorts, railway and war material, tools and machinery for public works, agency furlough, and pension charges, and interest upon the loans raised in London for the public debt or public works of India. To describe the home charges as a "drain" on India is only a correct mode of speech, if the citizen of India, who purchases an English knife or an English book, applies that term to his own expenditure. Just as the British householder purchases Indian tea because it is cheaper and better than Chinese tea, so the citizen and the government of India prudently purchase in England the articles which they require for use in India.

More than once, too, the author raises questions of a controversial character which would have been more appropriately avoided in a school manual, such for example, as those of the Simla migration and the Plague policy of the government. On the latter subject he says :

At rare intervals a sudden and terrible illness may break out, which, like the "black death" or the "bubonic plague," may threaten to destroy whole cities and bring ruin upon the survivors. On such occasions it is the duty of government to save the people even against their own wills, if the magnitude of the danger is sufficiently great. In 1896 a few cases of plague appeared in the city of Bombay, and before many months had passed half the population had fled in terror, carrying with them to other parts of India the terrible disease which pursued them in their flight. The plague, which might have been confined to a single city, by these means established itself in several centres. No locality suffered more than Kutch, where prompt measures were not taken to separate those who were attacked, or their friends amongst whom they died, from the healthy population. The relatives of the deceased carried the infection to others, and the mortality was terrible. Far wiser was the treatment of a village in the territory of Gwalior, around which the troops of His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia were at once drawn, and no one was allowed to move from the infected area until the risk of contagion had passed. The effects of leaving a disease like the bubonic plague to go its own way deserve the careful thought of all men. In the first place, infection spreads and destroys human life, as a jungle fire devours all that is before it when steps are not taken to isolate it. In the next place, the most distant nations, severed from India by continents or seas, take alarm and refuse to buy the products or manufactures of a country infected with the dreaded disease. The industry and occupations of hundreds of thousands of healthy people are thus paralyzed, and it takes many years before trade returns to its old course or confidence is re-established. It becomes then the duty of government to intervene where such vital interests are at stake. Whether persons attacked by the plague like it or not, they must be compelled to go to hospital, and their friends and relations who have been living with them must be separated from the rest of the population. The duty which devolves upon government is very painful, but it is quite clear, and the whole empire looks to it to perform its task with resolution and promptitude. There is no civilized country in the world in which the obligation of the State to employ its powers to prevent the spread of plague is not fully recognized. By no other means can lives be saved, and the ruin of industries and trade be averted,

In the writer's view of the duty of the Government we thoroughly concur ; but, unfortunately, the words we have italicised are very far from being true ; and every student of the book will know that they are not true.

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